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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1943

THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1943

INDIA and Burma in the twelve months covered by this Report provided the newspaper press of the world with front page news to an extent never before equalled in the three-quarters of a century of the existence of the Association. The Japanese occupation of Burma was completed in May and India was thereby directly threatened with invasion not as in past centuries from the north west but from the north-east. Her great varied and increasing contribution to the war effort and the fresh renown won during the year by her sons on far flung battle fronts notably that gained by the Fourth Indian Division in Libya and Tunisia were unhappily accompanied by a disturbing political situation. The proposals of H.M. Government taken to India by Sir Stafford Cripps in March 1942 failed though for different reasons to secure the acceptance of the Indian political parties. In August the largest of them the Congress Party demanded the immediate abdication of all British authority in India and threatened if this demand was not conceded to launch a mass non-violent civil disobedience movement under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. On the day following this decision of the Congress Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested and serious acts of violence and sabotage followed.

With so wide a field for discussion and exposition the Association was able to provide a body of information and opinion helpful not only to those attending the meetings but also to the wider membership and the public through the record of its Proceedings in the *Asiatic Review* and reports in the new paper press especially in India to which country full summaries are cabled. The programme opened in May most typically with Sir Alfred Watson's luminous account of 'The Rejected Plan for India' describing the circumstances in which the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps had not attained the end hoped for. The lectures subsequently given and having a direct bearing on the great issue of India's future constitution included Sir Hassan Suhrawardy's detailed and earnest exposition in November of 'Muslim Viewpoints' in which he laid before the Association and the Royal Central Asian Society arguments for acceptance of the claim for Pakistan. Another aspect of the Indian scene that of India in India was expounded in a penetrating and wittily delivered lecture in December by Colonel H.H. the Maharaja Jim Sahib of Nawanganagar who spoke with the special authority attaching to his Chancellorship of the Chamber of Princes. Early in April his colleague in India's representation at the War Cabinet Sir Ramaswami Muthiah gave a brilliant and balanced analysis of American reactions to the Indian situation in the light of a visit extending over some months to North America where he had been a member of the Indian delegation to the Pacific Relations Conference in Canada.

A welcome note of assured hope was struck in the eloquent address given in October by Sir M. Azizul Huque the High Commissioner for India on 'India Today'. His warm appreciation of the gifts of the British to India's life may be linked with the description given in June of 'The British Business Man in India: His Life and Work'. In the absence of the author Sir Leslie Hudson due to ill health the paper was read by Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham and the presence in the Chair of Lord Catto gave point to the argument that the British business man in India has fully understood and appreciated Indian political aspirations.

In July Sir John Hubback, late Governor of Orissa, gave a lucid description of the past and present of that province. The Association has been fortunate in having, during recent years, a number of such papers from ex-Governors, and they are especially welcome in these days when information on the course of events in the various Provinces tends to be fragmentary and occasional. A paper in a similar category was that in which Mr B W Swinbank (late Divisional Commissioner in Burma) described, with complete frankness, but with a note of strong hope for the future constitutional development of a liberated Burma, the working of responsible government in that country from its initiation in April, 1937, to its temporary overthrow by the Japanese invasion. The intricacies of the financial relations between the Centre and the Provinces in India were clearly expounded in December by Sir Gilbert Wiles, lately Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government.

In May the Association had the advantage of hearing a paper, appropriately illustrated by Indian documentary films on 'The Film in India'. The reader was Mr Alexander Shaw, one of the leading producers of documentary films in the world, who had recently returned from India after spending a year in that country preparing such films of India for exhibition in this and other countries as well as in India itself. The cognate subject of making India better known was brought forward in March by Captain K. K. Lalkaka, of the Wiltshire Regiment who for the past two years, as an officer of the Education Department of the War Office, has been constantly engaged in addressing in all parts of the United Kingdom, members of the Services on the subject of India.

Post war reconstruction outside the immediate political field was not overlooked. At a joint meeting with the Royal Society of Arts in January a paper prepared by Mr W M Yeatts, lately Census Commissioner in India, on the 1941 enumeration was read by Mr S Lall the Deputy High Commissioner. The grave problems presented by the rapid growth of population in the last decennium figured prominently in the discussion. It was common ground that the better and fuller utilization of India's natural resources is essential if calamity is to be averted. From this point of view great value attached to the paper which followed in the same month from the pen of Sir John Maynard, a close student of Russian rural conditions on 'Collectivism of Agriculture: Russia and India'. The greatest living British authority on the application of science to agriculture Sir John Russell P.R.S. gave an illuminating address from the Chair.

Cultural subjects also found a place in the programme of the year. In July a scholarly and inspiring exposition of the cultural relations, past and present, between India and China was given by Mr George K C Yeh Counsellor to the Chinese Embassy, Director of the Chinese Ministry of Information in London. The opportunity was taken by several speakers to dwell on the new links being forged by comradeship in arms against the Japanese aggression which China has been withstanding with such invincible determination and resource for nearly six years.

The outstanding meeting on the cultural side was that held in October, jointly with the Royal Empire Society at which a paper was read by Lord Hailey (with Lord Zetland in the Chair) on 'The Importance of the Study of Indian Languages and Culture'. He dwelt on the many-sided value of the work of the School of Oriental and African Studies and mentioned the tribulation through which it was passing in that the School building specially designed and equipped for teaching purposes, stands, like Naboth's vineyard, in most convenient proximity to the building occupied by the Ministry of Information. Lord Hailey who is the chairman of the Governing Body was in North America when matters came to a head. A tribunal awarded the removal of the School, for which less suitable and smaller provision was being made elsewhere. The Council of this Association joined with other organizations connected with the East in making strong representations against the project to H.M. Government through the Secretary of State for India and happily at the eleventh hour the decision was revoked.

The last lecture of the year in April struck a note less often heard at meetings of the Association for Dr Mulk Raj Anand, himself a novelist of repute, read a critical paper on 'English Novels of the Twentieth Century on India'. This evoked an animated discussion, to which written contributions were made by Mr E. M. Forster

and Dr Edward Thompson. The hope was expressed that further lectures on literary topics would be arranged at suitable intervals.

From the domestic point of view special interest attached to a celebration in September of the completion of seventy-five years work of the Association. At a social gathering Lord Erskine read an admirable paper surveying the progress of India during the last three-quarters of a century and showing the manner in which the Association had helped to influence the course of events. It is interesting to recall that Lord Erskine's great-grandfather, Lord Kellie, who as Colonel Erskine had a distinguished military and political career in India, was the first chairman of the Council, while his maternal great-grandfather, the Lord Shaftesbury of Factory Act fame, was one of the original vice-presidents.

The policy of co-operating with other organizations was maintained during the year. In this field the most important event was the celebration on November 23 of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Akbar the Great. This successful function was arranged by the British Council, with the co-operation of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Indian Society and this Association. Speeches were made by Sir Malcolm Robertson from the Chair, Mr Amery, the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and the late Mr Laurence Binyon. The exhibition of a contemporary drawing of the Great Moghul and of pictures of scenes in his life was a most interesting feature of the social gathering which followed the speeches. Another joint social gathering, this time in combination with the Royal Empire Society, was the reception in May to meet Sir M. Azizul Huque, who had shortly before arrived in London to take up the post of High Commissioner for India.

Three afternoon receptions were given by the Council at the Imperial Institute: the first in June to meet Mrs Amery and to see Miss Rosie Newman's film *England at War*; the second in October to welcome the two representatives of India at the War Cabinet, the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, and the third in February to bid farewell to the Governor Designate of Bombay and Lady Colville, and the Chief Justice-Designate of India and Lady Spens. These pleasant functions were made possible by the generous grants for hospitality from H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda (renewed during the year for a further quinquennial term) and H.H. the Maharaja of Gwalior. Here too, grateful acknowledgment should be made of a grant for similar purposes from the National Indian Association and the donations to the general funds received from H.H. the Raja of Bhur and the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.

A special feature of the social gatherings during the war years has been the presence on almost every occasion of batches of officers and men of the Indian Contingent and of other officers and men of India's combatant Forces. Colonel Reginald Hills, the Commandant of the Contingent, on leaving the command to return to India, spoke in the most appreciative terms of the Association's hospitality. He stated that the men wrote glowing accounts to their families of the receptions and the warm welcome given them. In a farewell letter Colonel Hills wrote:

"I want you to accept my most grateful thanks and deep appreciation for your very great kindness and sympathy to the Contingent and to me personally during the three years I have been in command, it has meant more than I can say to all ranks. They do feel most definitely that the members of the Association, and in particular the Hon. Secretary, are their very warm friends."

It should be added that Sir Thomas Smith continued to represent the Association as a member of the Executive and Finance Committees of the Empire Societies War Hospitality Committee, of which Field-Marshal Lord Milne is chairman.

The Council placed on record its sorrow on the death of one of the most senior and honoured of the vice-presidents, H.H. the Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner, the soldier, statesman and administrator who presided for more than half a century over his State and "wrought his people lasting good." Another loss was that of Sir Patrick Fagan, the senior trustee of the funds of the Association. The Association also records with deep regret the untimely death of Mr Ragavendra Rao. While in London he was a member of the Council. He died a few months after his return to India to be the member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of Civil Defence.

Changes in the office bearers of the Association have been few. The annual meeting of members heartily confirmed the nomination by the Council of Major General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes, M.P., as President for a term of three years. Lord Erskine, to whom the Association is indebted for many services, was appointed a Vice President. Mr. John de La Valette resigned his seat on the Council, on appointment to represent the Ministry of Information in Australia. Sir Gilbert Hogg, who is now living in Scotland, also retired. Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., was co-opted to serve on the Council on his return from military service.

The members of Council retiring by rotation but eligible for re-election are Sir Herbert Emerson, Lady Bennett, Sir Harry Haig, Sir Ernest Hotson, the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Sir Hopetoun Stokes, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and Sir Alfred Watson.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election to the Council at the Annual General Meeting, subject to fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary.

The losses of members by death were of normal proportions, while those by resignation were remarkably few. But considerable revision of the rolls was required owing to the difficulties and uncertainties of sea and air communications with India, to which reference was made in last year's Report. It is hoped that as communications improve and risks of loss of subscriptions in transit are lessened some of the lapsed membership will be restored. A most encouraging feature has been the large accession of new members, eighty-six having been elected, mainly on the home register but also including a proportion from India. The result is that at a time when many organizations have been facing reduced memberships the substantial net gain of thirty-eight has been secured. The total membership is now larger than at the outbreak of war.

The increase in membership has been accompanied by a further improvement in the financial position. During the year under review receipts exceeded expenditure by approximately £100.

Mr. de La Valette, who as already noted is now in Australia, had for a number of years audited the accounts as the representative of the Council. His place this year has been taken by Mr. P. K. Dutta and again as last year Mr. G. H. Langley has kindly represented in the audit the general body of members.

The Council desires to place on record its great appreciation of the service rendered by the Hon. Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, to the Association during a long period of years and particularly during the period since the outbreak of hostilities in September 1939. In spite of all the difficulties arising out of the war the Association has been able to maintain a full programme of meetings, to increase its membership and to preserve unimpaired its financial position. This success is in large measure due to the unremitting attention which Sir Frank Brown has devoted to the affairs of the Association. To him the Association owes a deep debt of gratitude.

J. A. WOODHEAD
Chairman
F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary

May 25, 1943.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

SIR ROGER LUMLEY'S ADDRESS

THE seventy-sixth annual general meeting of the East India Association was held at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C. 2, on Thursday, July 8, 1943, with the President, Major-General Sir FREDERICK SYKES, M.P., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The seventy-sixth Annual Report of the Association has been

duly circulated to all members, and therefore, with your concurrence, may I assume it to be taken as read? It shows that we entered upon our fourth quarter of a century of existence at a time when the work of exposition and discussion in relation to India has been of special importance. In the words of the eminent soldier who will shortly follow Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy, India has been facing greater perils from without than at any time during the past two hundred years. There have also been doubts and strivings within, calling for the exercise of the highest gifts of statesmanship. But the storm is being weathered, and, though the dangers have not been removed, they have been held in check.

It is a matter for hearty congratulation that in this momentous hour when the problems of completing the overthrow of a ruthless enemy and of post war planning of India are to the fore, Britain should send to that country of the very best she has to give. Lord Linlithgow has borne the burden and heat of a day so long and anxious as to tax to the utmost the strength of the most courageous of men, and he has never wavered in pressing forward the three great aims of full support of the war effort, the maintenance of law and order, and constitutional progress on durable foundations. For this inestimable service he is entitled to the admiration and gratitude of his fellow-countrymen as well as of the Indian peoples. He is to be followed very soon by one who knows the India not merely of yesterday or the day before, but the India of today, and has shown qualities not only of military leadership of the highest order, but of statesmanship. These will be put to the severest tests during his term of office, which is bound to be the most momentous of any Governor-General since the time of Lord Canning. I am sure we are all grateful to Field-Marshal Wavell for the interest he is displaying in the work of our Association, based on his knowing that we are working with a single eye to the good of India.

One of the resolutions to be submitted later will be for the election of new members of the Association, and I am gratified to inform you that the list is headed by the name of the Viceroy-designate. I have no doubt that at its next meeting the Council, which under the rules appoints vice presidents, will elect the Field Marshal to that office, one which has been held throughout by the present Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow.

Field Marshal Wavell has expressed his regret that previous engagements prevent his presence with us today to hear Sir Roger Lumley. Happily we shall have a special opportunity of wishing god-speed to him and Lady Wavell before their departure. They and their daughter will be our guests at a reception to be held at the Imperial Institute on September 21. I am sure that very many of our members will make use of this opportunity of uniting in an expression of our goodwill and heartfelt wishes to the Viceroy-designate. We shall follow his career in his new sphere of activities with the keenest and most anxious interest.

We are enabled to offer this hospitality through the fund which owes its existence to the generosity of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Baroda and Gwalior. We anticipate that, as on previous occasions of social intercourse the guests will include members of the Indian Contingent in this country and other Indian combatants, representing the vast body of men who have been proud to serve under such a Commander-in-Chief as Field Marshal Wavell in fighting not only for their motherland but also for the right to order their lives and to think and worship as they will. India has been especially threatened by Japan, whose wanton attack on the Allies has brought the enemy to her very borders. Fortunately, in her new Commander-in-Chief, General Auchinleck, she has a military leader who, we all hope, will soon turn the tables on her treacherous and brutal foe.

All of us must have been cheered by the Prime Minister's reminder at the Guildhall last week that more than two million Indians have joined the armed forces of the Crown, and that this contribution is unique in the sense that they have all been volunteers without a single conscript amongst them. India has now a national army, navy and air force all fighting in the battle for freedom. No fact could be more eloquent in rebuttal of the perverse and ignorant charges sometimes levelled against the British connection with India.

At some of our recent meetings a certain liveliness has been shown, and opinions expressed have been discussed in letters to the Press. This is all to the good, and in

this connection I wish to emphasize the fact that the Association is an open forum and not in any sense a propagandist body. Our members and invited speakers are as free to say what they think in the discussions as are Members of Parliament in debate; indeed they are freer, for they have no constituents or party whips to consider. No doubt the great majority of our members are in broad agreement in the belief that the welfare of India, which we all seek, is bound up in partnership with the great Commonwealth of Nations making up the British Empire, but within that article of faith there is ample scope for differences of opinion on the political, economic and social issues involved. It is in the give and take of discussion that the cause of truth can best be served. The freedom of expression to which I have referred is unquestionably a factor in the attention paid to our proceedings in the Press, even in these days of severely restricted supplies of newsprint, and also in the detailed reports which reach India. Such publicity is one of the various ways in which we can help to break down the widespread ignorance in this country and in America of even the fundamentals of the Indian problem.

Another factor is the considerable circulation enjoyed by the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, in which our proceedings are recorded. I am sure it must have cheered Sir Frank Brown and Mr. Richter when one of our oldest and most distinguished members wrote in respect of the last issue that he found every page full of interest.

The Report shows that in the fourth year of war the Association has fully maintained the high standard of its meetings, has preserved its financial position and increased its membership—a not very usual thing these days. (Applause.) On the latter point I would express satisfaction that the suggestion I made at the last annual meeting that our work would be helped by wives and relatives of members also joining on their own, has not been without some effect.

We have one more lecture before the short summer recess, for on July 28 Mr. Bahadur Singh, late President of the Oxford Union Society, will read a paper on communal electorates in India. In this connection we may note with pleasure the large proportion of lectures given in recent months by Indians, especially speakers of the younger generation for the future of the country is in their hands. I am sure the Council will spare no endeavour to keep up during the current year the high standard of authority and knowledge which has marked so many of our lectures and discussions in the past year.

I must conclude by thanking once more our Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, whose indefatigable work for the Association is mainly responsible for the successful year which we have enjoyed in spite of war time restrictions.

Before asking Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar to propose the adoption of the report and accounts I want to express our thanks to him for coming here and to bid him good speed and farewell, because he is very soon going to leave us.

BRITISH GOODWILL TOWARDS INDIA

SIR RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR moved that the Report and Accounts of the Association for the year 1942-43 be adopted. He said he had readily accepted the invitation to take part in the proceedings, especially as this was the last occasion he would have that opportunity for some time. He had first come in direct contact with the work of the Association in 1919, when he visited this country to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

In the ensuing years he had seen how broad the platform of the Association had become and how under the care of the Hon. Secretary it had become one of the factors making for a good understanding between India and the United Kingdom. The Association had been fortunate in its office-bearers. In the President they had a gentleman of culture and experience wearing all the weight of his knowledge and experience lightly like a flower. In their Chairman of Council, Sir John Woodhead, they had a gentleman who made himself inconspicuous. He thought this was the first occasion he had seen him in a prominent place on the platform, for although he had never been absent from any meeting of the Association, he had always gone to the back there to keep a watchful eye on the doings of the meeting. The Chairman had always taken his office very seriously and was frequently in the office working in the interests of the Association.

With regard to the Honorary Secretary, he did not think he could add anything to the high praise that had already been given. He thought it remarkable how Sir Frank Brown had been able to get members for the Association time after time. He had drawn in big fish and small fish from every sea. He thought the Association's gain was diplomacy's loss, for in a diplomatic post Sir Frank would undoubtedly have been a conspicuous success. The Association was most grateful for the way in which the Honorary Secretary had carried out his duties. He hoped that Sir Frank's services would be at the disposal of the Association for a long time to come.

The Report referred to activities during the anxious days when India had been threatened with a dangerous aggressor on the eastern side. Those were days when the future looked very gloomy indeed, particularly from this end of the world. He thought it curious that, while there was a great deal of anxiety about the future of India in this country in view of what had happened in Singapore and Burma when people here feared that such things might happen to India if not on a large scale, at any rate on a small scale, those in India in responsible official posts and responsible lay posts never had any doubt whatever that the danger could be averted. Although he and others in India had been nearer the danger, he felt that they were also nearer the truth. He did not suggest that the danger was over.

Only the other day General Auchinleck, who had been welcomed back as one of the most popular Commanders-in-Chief India had had during the last forty years said that the danger had not yet passed but anxiety was not now so great as it was in those days. As the Prime Minister had said, we had passed from the valley of the shadow and were beginning to have a glimpse of the sunshine on the uplands where we hoped to be very soon.

In the days to come they would realize how much goodwill and good understanding had been engendered by the East India Association. The subjects dealt with in recent addresses were of interest with regard to India and the war. He hoped that statesmen would consider her place in the post-war world and obtain her full co-operation in the steps to be taken for the security of all peoples and for the abolition of the aggression which had so sorely affected mankind in the past decade.

He was returning shortly to India to take up his duties as Member for Supply. He had spent ten months of absorbing interest in this country and had been in a position to understand what was happening, what was being planned and what possibilities the future held in store. He would take that impression back to his own country, but, more than that, having had opportunities of speaking with the citizens of this country at gatherings such as the present, he would take back with him the sense of goodwill and sympathy which was dominant in the United Kingdom towards his country, its people and its future. That was the abiding impression he had gathered during his ten months' stay in Britain.

We were living in times which he hoped would never be repeated but none the less through which it was a pleasure to have lived for great things were happening, great struggles were going on, and even though we might not achieve the Utopia for which people were hoping, at least a better world would emerge out of the suffering and tears of the struggle. He was reminded of the words of the poet, which were applicable to what was happening today.

We look before and after and pine for what is not,
Our sincerest laughter is with some pain begot,
Our sweetest songs are those which end upon the sweetest thought.

It was worth considering how much the British attitude of goodwill had been fostered by the East India Association. He did not mean just the value of the meetings alone where one extreme was put by one person and another by someone else but the reaction of the audiences whom he had watched more than anything else, would encourage him to take back to his country the feeling that the United Kingdom and its people, though going through difficult days were more broad-minded, more tolerant, more sympathetic than at any time during his twenty-five years of contact with the people of that delightful country.

He hoped that after this war India would be a free and happy land. The model he would have before his eyes would be the sentiment so concisely expressed in the

lyric of one of the American songs There is a job to be done, there is a war to be won

SIR SAMUEL RUNGANADHAN (High Commissioner for India) said that he had pleasure in seconding the resolution which had been so ably and eloquently moved by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. He considered that the President, who had completed a fruitful year of office the Chairman and members of Council, and the indefatigable Honorary Secretary well deserved to be most heartily congratulated on having planned and carried through such an impressive programme of lectures and social activities as the Report showed which had provided ample opportunities for the discussion of many important questions affecting India and for friendly contacts between Indians and their British well wishers in this country.

The past year marked a very important milestone in the history of the Association, for it saw the completion of seventy five years work. The Association showed no signs of the decrepitude of advancing age on the contrary it had displayed during the past year an amazingly vigorous activity in many directions. Membership had increased, and even in these days of the vanishing pound it had succeeded in improving its financial position. It was going on from strength to strength and playing in ever increasing measure a very vital important and necessary part in promoting good understanding and closer fellowship between the peoples of Great Britain and India in these very difficult years.

One special feature of its activities was the inclusion of cultural subjects in the programme of the year. The discussion of political subjects was no doubt very urgent and important at this time. It was undoubtedly necessary to bring all the goodwill and understanding possible on both sides to bear on a solution of those difficulties, but it seemed to him that in the long perspective of history political and economic problems must necessarily recede into the background and give place in prime importance to sympathetic mutual understanding, and appreciation of the culture and thought of the people of the two great countries concerned. The wider the basis of such understanding the closer and more permanent would be the co-operation for common ends in the years to come between the two countries.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF COUNCIL

LORD FRANK moved the re-election of the retiring members of the Council. He said that it should be realized that the Duwager Lady Reading, head of the Women's Voluntary Service and Sir Harry Haig, Regional Commissioner and Lady Bennett, who was concerned with the Red Cross administration in Kent although often not able to attend meetings of the Association were none the less members whose presence on the Council was desirable for the good working of the Association. He thought the Association could congratulate itself on the composition of the Council, for during the past year they had served the Association well and he felt sure the meeting would re-elect them *en bloc*.

MR H. H. HLOO, seconding the resolution said that as a *mofussil* member prevented by war time restrictions from attending most of their meetings he was very glad to be present particularly as it was the last occasion on which they would have the opportunity of hearing Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar for some years. It had been his good fortune also to be present in April when Sir Ramaswami gave a most illuminating and eloquent lecture of which he was sure all present were keenly appreciative.

With regard to the members of the Council he was in complete agreement with all that had been said. He had had pleasant contacts with some of the office-bearers of the Association and quite obviously they had an excellent Council.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

SIR FRANK NOYCE moved that twelve members as listed be elected including Field-Marshal Wavell. It was a great pleasure to him to move the election of a list headed by such a distinguished and outstanding public servant as the Viceroy-designate of India.

SIR JOHN WOODHEAD, in seconding the resolution, said all would be glad that the list of members was headed by Field-Marshal Wavell, the Viceroy-designate, to whom he was sure they would wish every success in his high office and in his new sphere of activity.

He thanked Sir Ramaswami for his very kind remarks about himself. He thought advisers should always be in the background. He preferred to occupy an inconspicuous place, the main reason being that he was really an adviser to Sir Frank Brown. Sir Frank did an enormous amount of work for the Association; indeed, its success in obtaining speakers, in maintaining and increasing its membership and in maintaining a sound financial position were due to his untiring efforts.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

BOMBAY IN WAR TIME

The CHAIRMAN said it was with great pleasure that he welcomed on their behalf Sir Roger and Lady Lumley on their return from Bombay. It seemed a long time since they had left, and they were all delighted that they were back again. He thought they both showed signs of wonderment at the England to which they had returned, and also signs of sorrow at having left India, although obviously glad to be back here again.

He congratulated Sir Roger, on behalf of the Association upon his tenure of office as Governor of Bombay. Everyone knew that Bombay was the best part of India! (Cries of No!) He thought that was an established fact, but, at any rate, Sir Roger would confirm that view! Sir Roger had had a very difficult time there. He had had a period when provincial autonomy had to be suspended and he had had to take over in accordance with the Act of 1935. He was sure that that had been no easy path to follow, but all the information available from friends on all sides from India and here, showed complete agreement that Sir Roger had carried out his duties with great success, sympathy and understanding. On behalf of the Association he congratulated Sir Roger.

SIR ROGER LUMLEY said: It is six years ago this month since the East India Association was good enough to give to my wife and myself much encouragement as we were about to set out for India. Today through you Mr President the Association has welcomed us back in a way which we appreciate and which causes us to feel highly honoured.

I recollect that on that former occasion it appeared as if the main task before a new Governor would be the implementing in his Province of that new Constitution which, after such long and careful preparation, had just come into operation. That by itself was a prospect of great interest, but, as it turned out, those years have provided a far greater variety of experience than that. For they have seen India at peace and India at war. India still enjoying a second century of security and India under the shadow of bombardment and invasion. They have witnessed constitutional progress and constitutional deadlock. For me as a Provincial Governor there was the unusual experience of possessing on one day when the Constitution was working, much smaller powers than any of my predecessors and on the next when it was not working, more autocratic powers than any of them had enjoyed for a very long time. There was, too, a dissipation of distrust, and then later a reappearance of suspicion, bringing with it, in not a few cases, feelings of bitterness and a sense of frustration. Interspersed with these greater tendencies and problems were the more routine emergencies, both those occasioned by nature, such as floods, droughts and cyclones and those occasioned by man in the form of riots and strikes. There has been no lack of variety in all these affairs, and it is perhaps true to say that as in other countries, so in India, these critical years have been unusually full of events and problems and anxieties.

From the cauldron of these years, amongst many other memories and impressions I bring back one possession which I am sure I share with you, Sir Frederick, and that is a real and lasting affection for the Presidency of Bombay, and its peoples, and its special gift of friendliness, and even for its problems. There will be many here

today who will agree with me in this, that no one who has served in India, has been in contact with its peoples, and has brought back endless recollections of their consideration, their generous disposition, and their loyal support, can fail to have a great desire to contribute to an understanding between Great Britain and India on which a partnership honourable and valuable to both may be based and may endure

THE POLITICAL DEADLOCK

Perhaps someone who has recently returned to this country from India and has still fresh in his mind some at least of the strains and stresses there, and to whom also is still fresh and striking the impression of England—organized, austere, united and confident in her great rôle as first citadel of freedom—perhaps someone with a qualification of that kind may be in a position to discern some misconceptions which distance or the strain of events tend to conjure up and which might foster misunderstanding. At any rate I shall venture on this occasion to touch on one or two matters which have struck me as a result of my transition from India to England.

There are, I know, many in India who are impatient at the continuance of the political deadlock and in their impatience they are prone to build up a version of the British attitude towards India which is far removed from reality. Some there are who attribute the deadlock to the Machiavellian cunning of British statesmen; others to indifference in Great Britain about the future of India. It may be that to those who hold to such conceptions no arguments will prove effective, but if I have, as I think I have, some friends amongst those who incline to these views, I would say this to them: Those who hold such views have a very mistaken and imperfect idea of the strength of purpose, the confidence and the faith of Britain. Indifference or cunning might be the resort of those with failing strength and tottering power, but such things find no place in the councils of Britain today.

The immediate task must be to win the war, but when that is done will come the tasks of peace. Foremost amongst Great Britain's purposes is the ideal of the Commonwealth of Free Nations long pursued, partly in being, but awaiting the advent of India. The attainment of full nationhood by India in whatever form may be agreed upon by the main elements in India is a great task, but the divisions in India will clearly make it a peculiarly difficult one for Indian leaders. To their aid, I do not doubt, Great Britain will want to bring all encouragement, all her goodwill, all her persistence and experience, and too, all her faith that the ideal to which she first set her hand is capable of accomplishment and can assure both to India and Great Britain a partnership in free association which is honourable for the good it can do in the world and valuable for the mutual benefit it can provide amidst the perils which beset the existence of nations. That, I would say to those friends in India I have in mind, represents the attitude of Great Britain to India, and not the rather pessimistic delusions about indifference and dissimulation with which some times they depress themselves.

LOYALTY OF THE MASSES

That misconception about Great Britain's attitude to which I have just referred is one which I know is prevalent in some quarters in India. There is another which seems to me to have some currency in this country. So much has been heard in the past few years about the political difficulties in India, about the Congress rebellion and matters of that kind, that the impression appears to have gained some ground that India is so much absorbed in political discussion and turmoil that there is little time or desire to join in the prosecution of the war. I certainly would not minimize the great importance of these political events, nor underestimate either the depressing influence they have had on the war effort or the gravity of the issues which they have at times presented to governments in India, but it would be completely inaccurate to suppose that there are not large masses of people entirely loyal to the cause for which the British Commonwealth and Empire and our Allies are fighting, and much devotion and enthusiasm given to the war effort, and with truly remarkable results. I therefore propose to give some impressions of the war effort in India. I will not confront you with long tables of statistics, they are to be found, so far as they can be divulged, in Government publications, nor shall I attempt in a short time to cover

the whole ground. I will try to show by a few illustrations, taken mainly from the Province of Bombay, but not, I expect, inapplicable to other parts of India, that side by side with and in marked contrast to the Congress Party's attitude a great contribution is being made in India to the war power of the United Nations

VOLUNTARY RECRUITMENT

More than two million men have enlisted in the armed forces. No national service scheme, no conscription, has called them up. They have come as volunteers every one of them, and often the flow of recruits has been greater than the amount of equipment available. The Prime Minister, in his speech last week at Guildhall, pointed out to the world that in no other country has so great a force been marshalled by voluntary methods. India and the Defence Services of India are entitled to be proud of a unique achievement. They are volunteers, too, in reality as well as in name, as I can perhaps show by a short account of the recruiting methods which I know to be followed in Bombay.

The best recruiter is the soldier already enlisted who, when he returns to his village, tells his friends and relations what he thinks of the army. Without that as a basis (and it implies general satisfaction with conditions, treatment and outlook in the army) no voluntary system could exist. But for the great expansion that has taken place in India it has been necessary to extend recruiting to villages and to whole areas and classes of the population where often there is no previous knowledge of the army and no tradition of service in it. How is that done? Certainly not by the press gang. No doubt our enemies would like to suggest that that is the method employed and we may be sure that it would be the one which they would use themselves. It is not the way the Indian Army has been expanded. It has been done by good, sympathetic and trusted recruiting staffs, greatly assisted by local committees of Indian gentlemen whose members, not necessarily big men—I call to mind, for instance, a schoolmaster, many village elders, a lawyer from the local bar, old soldiers prominent agriculturists, amongst many who do this work in Bombay—help the recruiting authorities by holding village meetings at which the need for men is explained, conditions of service described and questions answered. Often these committees raise funds amongst themselves to help would-be recruits to come into the recruiting offices and to receive some polishing up. This is not a great bureaucratic machine which has led this immense flow of volunteers into the depots, but a rather makeshift affair, which works because it is so strongly supported by voluntary workers drawn from the people themselves. It is a system which is not only voluntary, but basically democratic.

I am glad to draw attention to the contribution which Bombay is making to the armed forces. Great in numbers and splendid in spirit continues the martial record of the north of India but the considerable and growing contribution from farther south should not be overlooked. In the Province of Bombay we estimated that already at the end of the first three and a half years of this war we had exceeded the total number of recruits of the last war by about 50 per cent. The backbone of the fighting strength from Bombay is formed of Mahrattas. They have come forward splendidly in this war and the reputation which Mahratta battalions and other units formed of Mahrattas have won by their magnificent fighting qualities is unsurpassed, even in the record of the Indian Army in this war. British generals who have had them under their command, and British troops who have had them by their side, testify to that.

If anyone needs a true and striking picture to set beside the scenes of rioting and sabotage connected with the Congress disturbances, I can give you this one. Before I left Bombay I saw in a Mahratta training battalion, a gathering in which the whole life of the regiment seemed to be embodied. There were men who had stormed the heights at Keren and men who were back from North Africa. There were boys, sons of soldiers, educated in the regimental school, already marching like their fathers. There were old retired soldiers revisiting their old regiment, and there was a group of young cultivators in their village clothes, who had come in to enlist that morning. It was a family gathering, a family enjoying itself and proud of itself and playing its big part in the war.

Many other classes are now enlisting from Bombay, including Mahars of the Depressed Classes who will, when given the opportunity, revive on the battlefield the valour that distinguished former generations who served in the Bombay Army (Applause)

WAR PRODUCTION

Along with the great expansion of the fighting forces has gone an immense increase in the production of almost everything required for war purposes. No few sentences could adequately convey the weight and variety of this industrial effort. One or two examples, taken at random and some by now long out of date, may serve as illustrations.

In the second year of the war 40 million garments were made for the army, almost equal to the entire production of the last war. Today the figure is 10 million garments a month.

Thousands of things which were previously imported are being made in India for the first time. They range from armour plate to medicines and drugs, of which alone some 300 are being produced for the first time.

Up to a year ago some 4,000 sea-going ships had been repaired in Indian yards.

About a quarter of the men who man the British Merchant Navy are Indian seamen.

Of lethal weapons guns and shells, rifles, machine-guns, small arm ammunition in great quantities and explosives are amongst the products of ordnance factories and other industrial establishments whose expansion has been continuous for several years.

These are but half a dozen out of many hundreds of illustrations which could be given. One day I hope a full assessment will be made. The broad fact is that in the cotton and jute mills in the cities, on the hand looms in the villages, on the railways, in the forests, in the steel works, the coal mines, the engineering shops, in the shipyards and on the land work has been going on on a scale never before known in India, which has not only furnished a great part of the equipment of the large forces in India but has been of great value in the Middle East campaigns, has assisted many Allied countries and has given notable help in the struggle on the seas. (Applause)

Those at the top who have organized and conducted this great effort, especially in the spheres of Defence, Supply and War Transport, have been responsible for a very important addition to the resources of the United Nations. It is an achievement, however, which could not have succeeded without the co-operation of industrialists and labour in India. In Bombay where politics have for long exercised a considerable influence in commercial circles, most employers have joined fully in the industrial effort. Exceptions have not been many, and some of the leading figures in industry have also given tireless and quite invaluable leadership to other forms of war activity.

In one centre in the Province of Bombay when the political tension was most acute, labour was persuaded to interrupt production for several weeks, but elsewhere in the Province and particularly in Bombay city, labour turned a deaf ear to those who hoped to bring about a paralysis of industry. Indeed, since one big strike more than three years ago, stoppages in the city have been far fewer than for many years past. Full employment and an improved level of wages have no doubt contributed to this steadiness, but the conviction held by many leaders of labour that Nazism and Fascism are the enemies and oppressors of labour has had a most important influence. I will add that all this expansion in industry has placed on managers and foremen and supervisors particularly heavy burdens; it is not too much to say that they, Europeans and Indians, have played a part of exceptional importance.

VOLUNTARY CIVILIAN EFFORT

The war effort is not confined to those who serve in the fighting forces or those in industry. It is also spread throughout the country by many agencies, mostly composed of voluntary workers. In every district in the Province of Bombay and in

almost every taluka, into which the districts are subdivided, there are war committees. They help in recruiting, they help in popularizing the Defence Loans, they organize support for war funds, and they lead and guide public opinion about the war. Some of their activities can be measured by statistics. Bombay Province had, for instance, by January last contributed well over sixty crores to the Defence Loans and held the lead in that activity over all other Provinces, particularly in interest-free bonds. In war funds political considerations have caused many men of wealth to withhold their support, but that has not deterred many others, large and small, from building up a most generous total—for instance, in Bombay—out of which have been defrayed the cost of a squadron for the Indian Air Force (which bears Bombay's name), two fighter squadrons of the R A F and two motorized battalions besides greatly assisting the Indian Red Cross and also a large number of war charities in India and in this country, such as the Lord Mayor of London's Fund.

This generosity has been continuous and is by no means at an end. Not long before I left a Red Cross week was held throughout the Province. The committee asked for 10 lakhs and received 30 lakhs. Such gifts I can say without hesitation have been spontaneous in the Province. One little incident may speak for itself. In one district the local committee organized a series of meetings at which the war situation was to be explained and an appeal made for the District War Fund. But for one group of villages, which lay in a tract in which the rains had often failed, it was not thought right to appeal for funds so the notices for their meeting were made to state expressly that the speakers would come to explain about the war and that no appeal would be made. When the meeting took place a deputation of villagers came forward with a gift of several hundred rupees saying that the Government had always helped them in their difficult times and as they had had a good harvest that year and understood that Government was now facing difficult times they wanted to make their contribution. (Applause)

THE NATIONAL WAR FRONT

No statistics can prove the value of the work done in propaganda and explanation about the war, in which the National War Front now plays the leading rôle. I can say however from my personal knowledge that in every part of the Province meetings are constantly held often with entertainments, often in conjunction with rural development activities. Local war bulletins are frequently issued by local committees and are spread throughout their areas by bus-drivers. The Provincial Government, too, has a village cinema scheme, which has for some time been in full operation, by which every large village in the Province has a cinema show about once a month at which educational, agricultural and war films are seen. The volume of all this effort is large, and I do not think there is any doubt that a great deal is known and understood about the war in the countryside as well as in the cities. If you think how wildly rumour runs in India and consider that invasion and the unknown terror of bombing from the air was close enough to be expected and in some instances experienced, if you remember that at the same time the most powerful political organization in the country threw its weight against the Government and against the war, you must wonder how it was that the country as a whole retained its stability so well. There must have been some good reasons. I would say that all this persistent work in explaining the war to the people was one of them, and perhaps long years of fair government was another.

Many members of these committees have not spared themselves. When the war situation was at its worst they redoubled their efforts when it was unpopular to do so, they continued to identify themselves with the war effort. They have done this because of their deep conviction that it is in India's interest that the United Nations should win the war. Often when I endeavoured to express to individuals my admiration for what they were doing, I received the rather astonished reply: "But it is our duty."

In Civil Defence too, there are splendid voluntary workers. Some began to train themselves even before the outbreak of war, and have given invaluable service. When danger came nearer, the call for volunteers in large numbers went out and received a

good response. Indeed, in Civil Defence matters politics were very nearly eliminated. In Bombay city an efficient organization was worked up, and when H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester visited Bombay a year ago 12,000 men and women, in uniform, of the Civil Defence organization, the great majority unpaid, were inspected by him, and over 400 vehicles were on parade. From what I know of their spirit, I have no doubt that they would give good service to their city if a raid were ever made on Bombay.

In many of these war activities the help given by the European community has been invaluable. Sometimes less than justice is done to the Englishman in India. I can say of Bombay that no calls (and there were many) made upon him and his wife ever failed, and the amount of work which they are doing is out of all proportion to the smallness of their numbers.

I shall make no attempt here to estimate the influence which officials of Government, British and Indian, have over all this war activity. Their work, already heavy, has been increased endlessly by the war, but their devotion and resource are still inexhaustible.

THE BRITISH SOLDIER

No account, however sketchy of the war effort in India would be complete without a reference to the good relations which British troops manage to establish with the people of the country. While the extreme politician was busy convincing himself and his friends that nothing good ever came out of Britain, the Indian in the street or in the field found in the British soldier of this war a friendly, courteous individual always ready to explain how his modern equipment worked or to give the children rides in his vehicles. Two episodes in Bombay recur to me. A small party of British troops was sent to find its way across a remote and hilly tract with the object of accustoming them to the country. They had only recently arrived from England and did not know the language but after some initial shyness they generally found a way to establish confidence and the long day would usually end with the party sitting down to a meal surrounded by an entire village with the corporal administering to the minor ailments of the village and with the evening crowned by an exchange of entertainment talents and perhaps with an invitation to take shelter for the night in a village temple. In the morning the party would set out with most of the village accompanying them for a time to show them the best route or help them to cross a river and to wave them a friendly farewell.

That is not a page from an old romance but culled from the diary of an officer in 1942. On another occasion a brigade of British troops carried out some weeks of training in an area which had long had something of a reputation for agitation and even for lawlessness. By the end of a month there was an atmosphere of confidence and goodwill that had not been known in that area for many years. Some villages which had not seen the troops sent in complaints that they had been left out. (Laughter.) These men are far from their homes and impatient to get to grips with the enemy. During this time of waiting and training in India they have done a great deal to create friendliness and confidence. I may add that for the welfare of all troops British and Indian, and for sailors and airmen the civil community has been eager to assist the military authorities. Through nursing and other Red Cross work, in canteens organized by voluntary effort, by hospitality, the work of women, both British and Indian has been conspicuous, and their gratitude to the men who have left their homes to fight has found some expression.

I would emphasize again that I have attempted no complete catalogue, but only to give a few illustrations. In the aggregate the military effort, the industrial effort, and the many-sided voluntary effort amounts to a great volume. I do not want to over paint the picture. In India qualifications are almost always necessary to any statement. There is the other side. There are many who hold aloof from the war effort—and are free to do so—and some who have actively opposed. That has rendered what has been done more difficult but all the more striking. My purpose in speaking about it at this length has been to bring home the point that, side by side with the great political problem of India, is a war effort which also may be called great, and to remind my fellow-countrymen—whose fortitude in the darkest days was an inspira-

tion in distant lands to men of every race—that there are in India millions who are numbered in the company of those who stand with them for the right. (Cheers.)

THE MAHRATTA SOLDIER

Field-Marshal LORD BIRDWOOD thanked Sir Roger Lumley for his very interesting address. The Chairman had asked that he should speak as a soldier, and he was glad to do so, for the meeting had just heard from Sir Roger a good deal about the capabilities of the Mahratta soldier. His grandfather joined a Mahratta regiment just on 120 years ago and had served in the Bombay Presidency for thirty five years. He was followed by his (the speaker's) father, who served for the same length of time in the Bombay Presidency, but as a civil servant. He himself was born in the Mahratta country and had served in India for nearly forty-seven years. His best and oldest friends were amongst his Indian soldiers, with whom he had spent practically the whole of his regimental life. He had got to know and love them. His son and grandson had now followed him into the Indian cavalry.

Sir Roger had mentioned one of them saying: "It was my duty." He remembered, as a young subaltern, on bivouac in the rain, waking up in the morning to find himself covered with several capes. On speaking to his men, they had said:

"You are our Sahib—it is our duty."

On the North West Frontier he did not see a great deal of the Mahrattas but during the last war none of our soldiers had a greater reputation than they. Their fighting in Mesopotamia and elsewhere was well remembered. One heard of the Sikhs, Gurkhas and other martial races with whom he had served and for whom he had a great admiration but it was good to know that the Mahratta had come into his own. From what he had heard the Mahratta had shown himself to be a first-class fighting man.

Seeing in front of him many men not of his own age (for he happened to be the father of the British Army since the death of the late Duke of Connaught) he felt prompted to say that he felt all those approaching his age would willingly give all they possessed to put the clock back twenty years and once again serve alongside those magnificent soldiers. To him it was a real pleasure to find someone just arrived from India to say that the grand traditions of those magnificent soldiers were being kept up.

He expressed the thanks of the meeting to Sir Roger for the testimony he had given to the fighting quality and loyalty of our Indian soldiers: his old comrades to whom he was devoted.

Sir ERNEST HOBSON said that everyone had heard of the magnificent work which the women in India had been doing. He had heard from many sources that the women of Bombay had outshone all the others, which was due to the magnificent leadership of Lady Lumley.

The CHAIRMAN moved a hearty vote of thanks to all those who had addressed the meeting, which was accorded by acclamation.

The meeting closed and refreshments were served.

RECENT ADVANCES IN INDIAN COTTON PRODUCTION

By D N MAHTA

(Secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay)

THE history of cotton improvement in India goes back to the days of the East India Company, when sporadic attempts were made to introduce American cotton in certain parts of the country. Research work on systematic lines was not initiated until the creation of agricultural departments which took their present shape about 1907. Improvement, in the main, however, remained confined to the agronomic and cultural

side and no permanent advance was made until the recently developed technique of plant breeding began to be applied for the improvement of the race of the plant. Towards the end of the last war, the need for a permanent department for the direction and co-ordination of cotton work in India began to make itself felt, and a committee was appointed, the outcome of which was the establishment of the Indian Central Cotton Committee in 1921, and its subsequent incorporation under the Indian Cotton Cess Act in 1923, with separate funds for the improvement of the growing, marketing and manufacture of Indian cotton. Recent advances in Indian cotton production are attributable to the combined efforts of the departments of agriculture in the various Provinces and States and the Indian Central Cotton Committee.

The research policy of the Indian Central Cotton Committee is carried out by means of subsidies to departments of agriculture in the various cotton-growing Provinces and States for specific investigations on cotton. These include botanical schemes for breeding high yielding superior types of cotton, entomological schemes for the study of the life history of certain cotton pests and measures to control them, mycological schemes for finding ways and means to prevent the losses due to fungus diseases and physiological schemes for the study of crop growth. Grants are also made by the Committee for the extension and marketing of improved varieties of cotton and the maintenance of nuclei of pure seed of approved strain for which, for the time being there is no seed distribution scheme in operation. From the point of view of the grower special significance is to be attached to the seed distribution and extension schemes which form the real link between the experiment station and the cultivator.

IMPROVEMENT IN STAPLE

The improvement in the character and staple of the Indian cotton crop, brought about in recent years by the expansion of the area under superior types of cotton may be regarded as one of the most outstanding achievements in the history of cotton in India. While some twenty years ago the quantity of cotton of staple length 1" and above produced in India was practically nil, it was as much as 415,000 bales in 1941-42. The exact figure for the current season is not yet available, but it is expected to be around 500,000 bales. The production of short staple cotton—i.e. cotton of staple length $\frac{3}{8}$ " and below—amounted to 3,701,000 bales forming 64 per cent of the crop in the triennium 1923-26 against 2,458,000 bales or 41 per cent. in the 1941-42 season. The corresponding figures for the current season being 1,255,000 bales and 28 per cent. respectively. In other words, while the total crop shows a reduction of 1,326,000 bales or 23 per cent during the current season as compared with 1923-26 the output of short staple cotton is lower by 2,446,000 bales, or 66 per cent, and that of cotton over $\frac{3}{8}$ " in staple is higher by no less than 1,120,000 bales or 55 per cent.

It may be mentioned here that the war, whilst creating several new problems, has had the effect of accelerating the rate of progress of the extensions of superior varieties of cotton and has thus actually helped to bring about a better balanced production of the various types of cotton grown in the country. Soon after the outbreak of the war in September 1939, the Continental markets which on the average of the five pre war years accounted for an annual off take of about 84 lakhs bales were lost to Indian cotton. This loss however was to some extent off set by a higher mill consumption in 1940-41 which stood at 3,617,000 bales or near 6 lakhs bales more than in the previous year. The position of Indian cotton particularly of the short staple types, however became very serious early in the 1941-42 season when the Far Eastern markets were also closed as a result of the entry of Japan into the war. On an average the annual exports to Japan used to be some 15 lakhs bales, consisting mostly of the short staple varieties.

The question of adjusting as far as possible, the supply of short staple cotton to probable demand received the close attention of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, and in January 1942 a special appeal was made to all Provincial Governments and States in India especially in areas where short staple cotton is grown, to reduce the acreage under such cotton forthwith by at least 50 per cent. The efforts of the Committee in this connection were strengthened by the Grow More Food campaign simultaneously undertaken by the Government on a country wide scale. These

measures, together with the announcement by the Government of Bombay of their intention to stop facilities for the movement of the unwanted short staple cotton to Bombay and the replacement of the Broach Oomras and Bengal contracts by the new contract—the Indian Cotton Contract—with fine Jarila $\frac{3}{4}$ " staple as the basis, brought about a marked reduction in the total acreage under cotton and contributed in no small measure to the discouragement of cultivation of short staple cotton varieties. The difference in price between short staple cotton which was discarded, and the better staple cotton for which the local demand was greater than ever increased very considerably. The cumulative effect of all these factors is reflected in the phenomenal change which has taken place in the character of the current season's crop. The fourth forecast, issued in February, 1943, shows that while the total acreage under cotton during the current season is down by 20 per cent. as compared with the previous year, the reduction under short staple cotton is as high as 45 per cent., the largest decrease being under Oomras—viz. 1,512,000 acres. A noteworthy feature is the increase in the area under Jarila cotton—an improved strain with a staple length of $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $\frac{7}{8}$ "—the spread of which in the Central Provinces and Berar and Khandesh has been phenomenal in the current season.

BETTER YIELDS

Equally important has been the effect of agricultural research on the yield of cotton per acre. This is illustrated in the following table, in which two sets of figures of yield are given, one based on the official crop forecasts and the other on the figures of actual crop accounted for by exports, mill consumption and extra factory consumption.

Year Sept 1 Aug 31	Area (Thousands Acres)	Production Government Estimates (1 000 Bales of 400 lbs each)	Yield per Acre (lbs) Col 3 Col 2.	Approximate Commercial Crop (1 000 Bales of 400 lbs each)	Yield per Acre Calculated from Approximate Commercial Crop (lbs). Col 5. Col 2.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1922-27*	24 723	5,449	87	5,954†	96
1927-32*	24,738	5,206	84	5 851†	95
1932-37*	23 912	5 315	89	6,447†	108
1937-38	25 746	5,737	89	6 370‡	99
1938-39	23,490	5,051	86	6 051‡	103
1939-40	21 580	4,909	91	5 884‡	109
1940-41	23 311	6 081	104	6 848‡	117
1941-42	23,459	6,025	103	7 089‡	121
1937-42*	23 517	5 561	95	6,448	110

* Average

† Calculated from mill consumption—exports—extra factory consumption. Variation in stocks has not, however, been taken into account.

‡ Best estimate of the crop as arrived at by the Indian Central Cotton Committee in connection with the annual *post mortem* examination of all India cotton forecasts.

From the second set of figures given in column 6 it will be seen that the average yield per acre has risen by 15 per cent., from 96 lbs in the quinquennium 1922-27 to 110 lbs in the quinquennium 1937-42. While the increase, to some extent, might have been due to the extension of the area under irrigated cotton in the Sind and the Punjab there is little doubt that the more important factor is the extended application of the results of agricultural research—viz., improved seed, better manuring and judicious rotation of crops. It is true that, compared with other cotton-growing countries, the yield per acre in India is still very low and that it is capable of considerable improvement by the application of rational methods of agriculture—e.g.

by the improvement of the variety and the raising of the efficiency of cotton cultivation

To demonstrate to the cultivator the advantages of improved seed and improved methods of cultivation, the Indian Central Cotton Committee has recently sanctioned several model projects schemes which will be carried out on the cultivators' holdings in the various cotton-growing tracts. These projects cover all crops grown in a particular holding and have been undertaken in collaboration with the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. It may be hoped that, as a result of these efforts to tackle the problem of the translation of the results of research into practice, the next decade will see an appreciable improvement in the position. It should be realized however, that most of the cotton in India is grown under rain-fed conditions, and yields vary enormously from year to year, depending upon the vagaries of the monsoon.

Side by side with the introduction of improved varieties of cotton, steps have been taken to improve primary marketing by the establishment of regulated cotton markets. Investigations conducted by the Indian Central Cotton Committee have shown that in those tracts where regulated markets exist the cultivators obtain better prices for their cotton. Based on these enquiries legislation for the establishment of regulated cotton markets has been enacted in several cotton growing Provinces and States. Further cotton has been included in the schedule of commodities under the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act 1937 and specified improved varieties can now be marketed under *Agmark* as a guarantee of their purity. It is hoped that in course of time this additional facility will enable the cultivator to realize better if not full value for his produce.

COTTON LEGISLATION

In order to prevent the influx of inferior cotton and cotton seed into areas growing superior strains the Cotton Transport Act was passed in 1923 by the Government of India. This Act empowers Provincial Governments to prohibit the import of cotton, *kapas* or seed into specified areas unless required for a special purpose and covered by a licence. The prohibition is applied when it is considered desirable to maintain the quality or reputation of a cotton grown in a particular area. Protected areas have been notified under this Act in several Provinces and Indian States. In respect of certain protected areas supplementary legislative measures have had to be undertaken to eradicate inferior cotton already present in the tract by prohibiting the cultivation, possession etc. of specified varieties of cotton.

The Cotton Ginning and Pressing Act 1925 is another salutary measure put on the Statute Book by the Government of India and practically all cotton growing States where there are pressing factories have also enforced the main provisions of the Act by legislation or by executive orders. Under this Act every factory is allotted a special mark which is required to be stamped on every bale of cotton pressed in the factory together with the serial number of the bales. This system enables a bale to be traced to its source and serves as a check on malpractices at the factories. As a further preventive measure the Provinces of Bombay, Sind and the Central Provinces and Berar have amended the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act so as to prohibit the watering, mixing and admixture of cotton and to make it obligatory on all cotton ginning and pressing factories situated in areas to which the Act has been applied to obtain licences for their working. The enactment of similar legislation in the Provinces of Madras and the Punjab is under consideration. There is no doubt that these measures have resulted in enhancing the reputation of Indian cotton.

INDIAN MILL CONSUMPTION

It may perhaps be appropriate here to trace the trend of the Indian mill demand for Indian cotton. During the quinquennium 1923-28, consumption of Indian cotton by mills in India amounted to 1,962,000 bales, which represented roughly 35 per cent. of the total crop. The production of counts below 20's by Indian mills during this period amounted to 330,269,000 lbs., or 45 per cent. of the total output of all counts. With the expansion of the Indian mill industry and its ability to cater for the bulk of

the requirements of cotton goods in the country, the off-take of Indian cotton by mills also increased until, in the pre-war year ending August, 1939, the consumption stood at 3,151,000 bales, of which 23 per cent. were of short staple. There was a spurt in the internal demand for Indian cotton in 1941-42 owing to restricted import of cotton goods and increased requirements of the Defence Services and overseas markets. As a result, the consumption of Indian cotton by Indian mills reached 4,025,000 bales, of which short staple cotton formed 24 per cent. In regard to the current season, the indications are that the previous season's level of consumption will at least be maintained, if not exceeded.

As regards the export outlets, Indian cotton has lost most of the foreign markets as a result of the war. The exports in 1941-42 were 873,000 bales, mainly to the United Kingdom, U.S.A. and Australia against 2,013,000 bales in 1940-41 and 2,340,000 bales in 1939-40. So long as the present conditions continue exports are not likely to exceed 4 lakhs bales.

To sum up, the present season started with an estimated carry-over of 25.4 lakhs bales with the trade (excluding spinning mills) in India. The commercial crop (excluding extra factory consumption) is estimated to be around 47.6 lakhs. Receipts at mills and exports may be expected to account for about 49 lakhs bales. This means that the carry-over with the trade at the end of the current season is likely to be reduced by about 1.4 lakhs bales as compared with the previous year. As regards the immediate future it has been generally accepted that the aim should be to ensure that the current season's cotton acreage and the existing proportion of cotton of staple length $\frac{3}{8}$ " and below are not exceeded for the duration of the war or at any rate during the next season. The existing conditions are most favourable for the increased production of long staple cottons over 1" in staple, in view of the difficulties attendant on the obtaining of foreign cotton for spinning finer counts of yarn. The mill consumption of foreign cotton amounted to 635,000 bales in 1941-42. The present production of Indian cotton over 1" in staple being less than 2 lakhs bales it is not sufficient to meet the needs of the mill industry. The cottons included under this group are Punjab American 289F/K 25 (production 142,000 bales, staple length $1\frac{1}{8}$ " and spinning capacity 30 s warp or 40 s weft) grown in the Lower Bari Doab Canal Colony, Punjab, and Cambodia Co 3 and Co 4 (production 19,000 bales, staple length $1\frac{1}{8}$ " to $1\frac{1}{4}$ " and spinning capacity 42 s and 50 s warp), grown chiefly in the southern districts of the Madras Province. There is every possibility of increased production of these cottons in the near future while research work aimed at evolving further strains of better staple and quality is in progress in the Punjab, Sind and Madras Provinces. These may, in course of time, replace the bulk of the imported cottons, except probably Egyptians.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a joint meeting with the India and Burma Section of the Royal Society of Arts on June 11, 1943, Sir Frank Noyce read the foregoing paper in the absence of the author, Mr D. N. Mehta, in India.

The new High Commissioner for India Sir Samuel Runganadhan, was announced to preside. In introducing him, Major-General Sir FREDERICK SYKES M.P., said: "Before we hear the lecture for which this meeting was convened, I have a very pleasant and agreeable duty to perform. It is the welcoming, on behalf of the Royal Society of Arts and the East India Association, of the new High Commissioner for India, Sir Samuel Runganadhan. He has just arrived back—only two days ago, in fact—from America to take up the great position of High Commissioner for India in London, in succession to Sir M. Azizul Huque, now a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. We feel very honoured to be the first to welcome him back and to congratulate him on his appointment."

As Sir Samuel and his wife were out of England at the time when he received his

knighthood, we should like to congratulate him also on that honour. Our congratulations are none the less cordial because they have been necessarily delayed. I think that it is a very fitting recognition of the great services which he has rendered in the educational field, and in many other fields, that he should have received this honour at the present time. As you all know, Sir Samuel has been Vice-Chancellor of two Indian universities in succession, and also Adviser to the Secretary of State for India.

During the three years since he took up this last appointment he has made very many friends, and we in London have known and respected Sir Samuel and Lady Runganadhan. We should like to convey our congratulations also to their daughter, who, we understand, is doing so well at Oxford.

A note of sadness, however mingles with our congratulations, for while in America Sir Samuel and Lady Runganadhan received news of the loss of their son. He was a very gallant and promising officer in the Indian Air Force killed on active service. May I say how very deeply we all sympathize with them in their great loss.

Sir HARRY LINDSAY, on behalf of Sir Edward Crowe, President of the Royal Society of Arts, presented to Sir Samuel the Society's medal for a lecture he delivered on Indian Universities during a former session.

Sir SAMUEL RUNGANADHAN, on taking the Chair, said: I thank Sir Frederick Sykes on behalf of my wife and myself for the very kind welcome and good wishes which he has extended to us on behalf of the Royal Society of Arts and the East India Association, and for the cordial way in which you have supported his words. My wife and I have been away for some time on a tour in the United States of America and in Canada, and although we had a most pleasant and interesting time in those new and great countries I must confess that we are very glad to get back to England among our old friends.

The honour which has been done to us today I deeply appreciate, as it is indicative of the general goodwill and friendliness which the British people have always I know entertained towards my country. (Hear, hear.)

The two great organizations for which Sir Frederick has spoken have done and are doing, a magnificent piece of work in spreading a knowledge of India among the people of this country and in promoting goodwill and understanding between Great Britain and India. It is a source of great encouragement to me on the threshold of my work as High Commissioner that I have the good wishes and support of so influential and representative a body of people as the members of the Royal Society of Arts and the East India Association.

I must also thank Sir Harry Lindsay for presenting this medal to me on behalf of the Royal Society of Arts. I thought that the days of receiving medals were long past for me but I seem to recapture some of the thrill of early youth in receiving this medal from so learned a Society. The value of the medal has been enhanced for me by the fact that it has been presented to me by my friend Sir Harry Lindsay.

I am very glad that the paper on the recent advances in Indian cotton production will be presented to you by so great and competent an authority as Sir Frank Noyce, whom I regard as a fellow Madras. The Government of India have a knack of picking out the best men in the Indian Service, and they generally seem to come to Madras for them!

I think that it is unnecessary for me to tell you anything about Sir Frank Noyce. He knows all about Indian cotton. More than a quarter of a century ago he was Secretary to the Indian Cotton Committee; later he was President of the Tariff Board which conducted an enquiry into the textile industry; and still later he was a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council in charge of Industries and Labour. He has rendered very good service indeed to India, and he knows better than most people all about Indian industry, and the Indian cotton industry in particular.

You may perhaps be interested to know that this short paper was sent from India in eleven agraph letters.

After reading the paper Sir Frank Noyce showed a few slides selected by Mr Anstead and illustrating Indian cotton production from field to factory.

SIR FRANK NOYCE then said Perhaps I can best open the discussion by telling you a little more about the origin and working of the Indian Central Cotton Committee. As Mr Mahta said, it owes its origin to the Report of the Indian Cotton Committee of 1917-18, of which I was secretary That Committee was appointed not because it was felt that there was need for a permanent department to deal with cotton questions, but because the conditions arising out of the first World War had impressed on the Government of India the necessity that India should grow more long staple cotton No one knew when it was appointed what shape its recommendations would take The personnel of the Committee was a fine example of what a practical committee should be. It was composed of Sir James MacKenna then Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, two agricultural experts Mr G S Henderson and Mr (now Sir William) Roberts and an irrigation expert Mr Ashton There was also a representative of the Lancashire cotton industry, which it was hoped would be interested to a much greater extent than for a long time proved to be the case, and there was Sir Ness Wadia the Bombay millowner, who brought all his great ability and energy to bear on the problems presented to the Committee And so the Indian Central Cotton Committee took shape I think the Report of the Cotton Committee, or rather its reception by the Government, is a refutation of the view, for which there certainly has been some justification in the past, that when a Government has a difficult problem to deal with they hand it over to a committee, and when they receive the committee's report they find it is even more difficult than they had thought and, therefore have every excuse for doing nothing at all! But the Cotton Committee's Report was accepted almost in its entirety by the Government of India, and there is now no important recommendation in it which has not been carried into effect. The Cotton Committee was given its own separate funds almost from the outset. It is financed by a levy of two annas a bale on all cotton used in Indian mills or exported As a result, the Committee is now able to spend about Rs 10 lakhs a year (£75,000) on research and improvement and has built up a reserve of well over £100,000

The Committee consists of about fifty members drawn from all interests connected with cotton from the field to the factory, including as it does representatives of the growers, agricultural officers research workers and manufacturers It has its own technological laboratory, and although much of the research work on cotton in the agricultural side is carried out by means of the subsidies it gives to the Agricultural Departments in the Provinces and States, it has a very important stake in the Institute of Plant Industry at Indore, where it has its own genetics scheme, in addition to the contribution it makes to the other work on cotton carried out at the Institute

The first Secretary of the Cotton Committee, to whom it owes very largely the success which it has achieved, was Sir Bryce Burt, to whose memory it is specially appropriate that I should pay a tribute of respect here, for he was well known to the Royal Society of Arts and to the East India Association, and it was only a little over a year ago that he read a paper on Indian Agriculture in this room to a joint meeting of the two Societies After a long and distinguished career in India he came home and placed his services at the disposal of the Ministry of Food, where he dealt with the rationing of animal feedingstuffs with all the competence which those who knew his work in India would have expected His death in January, which was, I fear, brought on by overwork, is a very heavy loss to the Ministry he served so well and to his friends. He was followed as Secretary to the Central Cotton Committee by Mr Ritchie, who in his turn was followed by Mr Mahta

Two points in regard to the work of the Central Cotton Committee seem to me to deserve special emphasis. I feel in all the mass of figures given in the paper those which stand out are the figures which illustrate the change over from short staple cotton to long staple cotton in India As you will have seen, the position is now almost exactly the reverse of what it was when the Committee started its work The position of the Indian cultivator of cotton today would be very different had it not been for that change, especially as the entry of Japan into the war meant the loss of the most important market for short staple cotton.

The second interesting point is that it was the work of the Indian Central Cotton Committee which led to the establishment of the Imperial Council of Agricultural

Research The Royal Commission on Agriculture was so impressed by the work of the Cotton Committee that it took it for a model for the Council. The two bodies are interdependent, the Vice-President of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research being the President of the Committee. This is a very desirable arrangement, because agricultural problems are not always peculiar to the cotton crop. The model of the Cotton Committee has also been followed in the case of the separate committee set up for jute.

I would only add that, technical as the subject is, I hope those of you who may have found the figures rather overwhelming will none the less have realized what an important part cotton plays in the agriculture of India. India is the second cotton producing country in the world. It produces 18 per cent. of the total world output against the 42 per cent. produced by America. The Indian crop represents a much larger proportionate acreage, however, because India produces much less per acre than America. The Indian Central Cotton Committee devotes no small part of its energies to the reduction of that disparity.

Mr RUDOLPH D. ANSTEAD (Director of Agriculture in Madras between 1922 and 1929) also paid tribute to the memory of Sir Bryce Burt.

I have always looked upon the Cotton Committee (he continued) as a model of its kind. It was representative of all the people, Indian and European, who had anything to do with cotton. We used to have meetings which on some subjects became rather heated and some of us differed about what should be done. But we never got into a deadlock. We always managed to get such amount of agreement that we could get on with the job. That was due to the Chairman, David Clouston, he used to put everything right.

It is interesting to note the position at the present moment of long staple cotton in India. It looks as though the Indian mills are taking the whole of the long staple cotton which India can now produce. What will happen after the war? Will that continue? Is India going to stop exporting long staple cotton altogether? Is her mill expansion so great that it will absorb all the long staple cotton?

With regard to short staple cotton it seems to me that there will be the problem that after the war the European countries and America may have a revolution in clothes. There is going to be a change over from cotton to artificial silk. Not only will there be rayon but nylon which has so far not had a chance owing to the war. I rather fancy that we are going to turn from cotton to artificial silk as a basis for clothes. The basis of artificial silk is cellulose and it may be that manufacturers will look to short staple cotton for their supply of cellulose. In that case India may turn back to short staple cotton because it is easy to grow and in artificial silk it does not matter about staple length. That problem the Cotton Committee will have to consider during the next twenty five years.

Cotton yields in India are very low. Most of India's cotton is grown under rain-fed conditions and depends on the Indian monsoon—which is sometimes very tricky. Even where the cotton is irrigated in years of shortage of water the water is given to the food crops rather than to the cotton. The same applies to fertilizers. Fertilizers are short in India and the food crops get the bulk of them and necessarily so, because India depends on her food crop. You cannot send spam to India, down in my part of India in Madras, we are rice or millet eaters and we have to grow our own food. Therefore the cotton yield depends entirely upon water and fertilizers, and as between the food crop and the cotton crop it is always the cotton which goes short. That is why the yields are, and always will be, low as compared with America, where conditions are entirely different. When you obtain a yield of 120 lbs to the acre you probably get as high a yield as is possible in India. I think that is why there has not been an increase in yield of cotton as there has been in other crops such as rice. The Department of Agriculture have done very well in raising the yield from 96 lbs. to 120 lbs. That is a great advance, but I do not think we shall ever go higher than that.

Mr S. LALL said he came from Bihar, where very little cotton was grown. The paper gave an interesting illustration of planning. The previous policy was always

to allow the agriculturist to do what he liked—a *laissez faire* policy. With cotton, as with jute and sugar, the State must take an important part in planning and not leave development to the agriculturist and the industrialist.

On behalf of all present he thanked Mr. Mahta for his very interesting and informative paper and Sir Frank Noyce—his old chief—for reading it. Sir Frank had given it fresh life and made the statistics quite easy to understand, and for that they were very grateful to him.

Finally, he conveyed their thanks to Sir Samuel Runganadhan for presiding over the meeting so soon after arrival from America.

Sir W. H. HUMBURY, who was unable to be present, wrote: The Indian Central Cotton Committee is doing splendid work, and I always thought it showed wonderful foresight of the Indian cotton industry to form this useful Committee. Much has been done already to improve Indian cotton, but much remains to be done in seed improvement and the methods of agriculture. I do not consider the soils of India to be generally good, so many millions have had to live off the land for many many years. Some of the large irrigation colonies in the Punjab and Sind offer good possibilities for the longer staples and in greater quantities.

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES IN INDIA

By I. J. BAHADOOR SINGH

HAVING spent a good deal of my life in a community of about 150,000 Indians, consisting mainly of Hindus with about 20,000 to 25,000 Muhammadans, I found it extremely difficult to understand, as indeed I still do, that Hindus and Muslims are such different beings that they cannot live together in harmony and accord.

In the West Indies there is no communal discord, no separate electorate for different communities. Hindus and Muslims not only work and live together, but they eat, drink and play together. With such a pattern and background I have a natural hesitation to accept the view that these two major communities in India are so very different in their approach and outlook to life that a separate system of representation in the whole business of government has become inevitable for them. It was with this limitation in my mind that I began to survey the landscape of Indian politics, and much as I have tried to maintain an attitude of objectivity in my examination of the problem of communal electorates, if here and there I have strayed from the path of logical argument, I must relegate this defection to the instinct bred in my mind about cordiality among the communities.

The system of communal representation first came on the statute books of India with the introduction of the Morley Minto Reforms in 1909. But although this Act is regarded as originating the communal electorate it will be worth while to make a short examination of the situation from the time of the Mutiny up to 1909.

By the Indian Councils Act, 1861, an attempt was made to root the Government in the life of the people of the country and so maintain a closer contact between the Government and the people. The Act provided for the enlargement of the Governor-General's Executive Council to form a Legislative Council. It reconstituted and enlarged the Legislative Councils in Madras and Bombay and provided for the creation of similar Councils in three other Provinces. The Councils could only deliberate on the immediate legislation before them. But, and here is the important point, the Act also provided that at least half of the new or additional members should in each case be chosen from outside the ranks of the Civil Service.

As Professor Coupland has pointed out, since most of the non-official members thus chosen were Indians, the Act of 1861 may be said to have introduced the representative principle into the Indian Constitution.

THE ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was a decided advance. As the Montagu-Chelmsford Report states, 'Whereas in 1861 men said, We had better bear what a few Indians of our own choosing have to say about our laws, in 1889 they said, Our laws have positively benefited by Indian advice and criticism, let us have more of it, and if possible let the people choose the men they send to advise us.' The Act of 1892 permitted the Legislative Councils to discuss, though not to vote on, administrative matters. The intention was that non-official members who were in touch with public opinion should be brought on to the Legislative Councils.

Mr (afterwards Lord) Curzon, in introducing the Bill, said 'It would be in the powers of the Viceroy to invite representative bodies in India to elect or select or delegate representatives of themselves and their opinions to be nominated to those houses.' Mr Gladstone speaking for the Opposition was quick to pin the Government down to a declaration that the experiment of election was to receive a reasonable trial in India. What happened was that the Government said that Parliament's intentions were that nominations should be made on the recommendations of district boards, municipalities, universities and various organizations representing landed and commercial interests. Technically the function of the nominating bodies was to be that of nomination only but the practical good sense of the Government of India prevailed these recommendations were invariably accepted and thus were in effect in the nature of elections to the Council.

And so we come to this point—that whatever Lord Dufferin may have said in his despatches about the undesirability of an approach to English parliamentary government the Act of 1892 introduced for the first time into the legislative bodies of India a small quasi-elective element. Although according to Professor Coupland this was to some extent a half hearted evasion of the elective principle yet it was in some measure at least representative government and was certainly a step towards

English parliamentary government.

By about the beginning of the twentieth century the Congress was growing in influence in the country and had attained a certain prestige. Hitherto the most important elements in Congress had been a middle-class cautious and sympathetic intelligentsia. Soon fresh blood from the professional classes and the industrialists swelled its ranks and with these new elements there was a new phase in the political struggle. The growth of Congress was to some extent influenced by the activities of the Government. Lord Curzon was by no means a wellwisher of the organization. In 1900 he wrote to the Secretary of State 'My own belief is that the Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my great ambitions while in India is to assist its peaceful demise.' The Bengalis were antagonized by the Universities Act the Calcutta Municipal Act and the partition of Bengal.

On May 28 1906 a little over six months after his arrival in India as Viceroy Lord Minto wrote to John Morley 'I have been thinking a good deal lately about a possible counterpoise to Congress aims. I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes or in an elaboration of that idea.'

On June 6 Morley wrote to Lord Minto 'Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India. Lawrence Chisolm, Sydney Low all sing the same song. You cannot go on governing in the same spirit you've got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muhammadans will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you and so on and so forth. I don't know how true this may or may not be.'

On July 11 in the same year Minto again wrote to Morley

Nothing was truer than what Morison says in the extract you sent me. Ideas can only be combated by ideas and you won't keep the younger generation away from the Congress unless you have another programme and another set of ideas to place before them.

That ideas can only be combated by ideas is an elementary principle of the technique of government, especially when the policy of that government is motivated by

an imperialistic outlook. It is at this point that we see the beginning of the war of ideas. Morley and Minto arrayed on one side and the Congress on the other side. I have no comment or observation to make on this situation except to ask a pertinent question.

Is it too much to suggest that it is perhaps in this conflict of ideas between the Government and Congress that we can detect the germ of communal representation? Let us, however, pass on to October 1, 1906. It was on this day that a Muslim delegation headed by the Aga Khan saw the Viceroy.

The effect of the Muslim claims was that in any system of representation whether it affected a municipality, a district board or a legislative council in which it was proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Muhammadan community should be represented as a community. The deputation also asked for representation on the basis of the political importance of the community and not only on its numerical strength. The Viceroy assured the Muhammadan community that their political rights and interests as a community would be safeguarded by any administrative reorganization.

It is not for me to say that the delegation was engineered by the Government or its agents, as some people have been inclined to suggest. I have come across no authentic evidence to support this view, but it is relevant to point out that if ever an opportunity was needed for combating the ideas of nationalism gaining so much ground in the Congress, then there it was staring the Viceroy in the face.

THE MORLEY MINTO REFORMS

Lord Minto and his Executive Council approved the claim made by the Muslims and it was finally accepted with some reluctance by Lord Morley and His Majesty's Government. Morley himself had proposed a plan for a mixed or composite electoral college in which Hindus and Muhammadans should pool their votes. Such a plan, said Lord Morley, would have secured to the Muhammadan electors wherever they were so minded the chance of returning their own representatives in their due proportion. The political idea at the bottom of that recommendation which has found so little favour was that such composite action would bring the two great communities more closely together and this idea of promoting harmony was held by men of very high Indian authority and experience, who were among my advisers at the India Office. But there was opposition from the Muslims and the Government of India to this scheme and it was reluctantly abandoned.

As a result the Indian Council Act of 1909 and the rules framed under it made provision for separate Muslim electorates in all the major Provinces except Burma where there are no communal problems, the Central Provinces and the North West Frontier Province where there were no Legislative Councils at the time, and the Punjab where it was thought that special protection would not be necessary. Muslims were also allowed to vote in the general constituencies which were mainly composed of big landowners, members of municipal corporations and district boards, and members of chambers of commerce. The Provincial Legislatures were increased to a maximum of 50 in the larger Provinces and 30 in the smaller. The Indian Legislative Council also received a large addition of Indian members. Out of a total of 68 there were 36 officials and 32 non-officials. 41 seats were filled by appointment and 27 by election.

To illustrate the general effect of the Reform let us see the way in which the 27 elected members were returned to the Central Legislature. 13 of the 27 were elected by the unofficial members of the Provincial Legislative Councils, 6 by land holders, 6 by Muslims and 2 by the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay. The electorate of this Legislative Council amounted to 5,818—an average of 217 for each of the 27 elective members. Some of the constituencies, however, were much smaller than this average. 8 electors for example chose the Muslim representative and 9 chose the general representative from Bombay.

This settlement was bitterly criticized by the Nationalists. At a meeting in 1910 the Congress, while recognizing the necessity for providing a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Muhammadans and other communities where they are in a minority, condemned the system of communal elector

ates. There is no doubt that the introduction of communal electorates was altogether opposed to the principles of democratic government.

Lord Morley was extremely anxious about the fate of his Bill in the Lords. He was bent on appointing Sir S P Sinha—as he then was—as first Indian member of the Viceroy's Council, and when explaining to Lord Minto his reasons for delay in announcing this, he wrote 'To have made a native member compulsory by a clause in our Bill would have lost the Bill in the House of Lords. Again he writes

As soon as my Bill is through the House of Lords I do not propose to postpone the appointment beyond that On March 12, 1909, when the Bill was safe, he wrote

'Nobody could possibly have produced a scheme which was open to objections and criticisms and one that would please everybody If we had satisfied the Lords at every turn we certainly would have been laying up trouble for ourselves in the Commons You will laugh at me as a horrible double faced Janus for having in one House to show how moderate we are and in the other to pose as the most ultra reformers that ever were Such are what we call tactical exigencies.

In view of all the facts it seems difficult to accept the proposition that Morley was not doing violence to his democratic conscience when he accepted the principle of communal electorates Morley was perhaps the one person who could have saved the situation Remember, he was at first against separate electorates and wished for territorial representation In fact, he wrote to Minto in these terms I won't follow you again into our Muhammadan dispute Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the Muslim hare Morley was too cautious he was vacillating while Minto pressed the need for communal electorates He finally yielded on pressure brought to bear by the Muslims and the Viceroy Another factor may have induced him to incline to the Muslim demands John Buchan in his *Minto* wrote Indeed he [Morley] had a strong distaste for all coloured races and little imaginative insight into their moods and views The real truth he told Lady Minto in a revealing letter is that I am an occidental not an oriental don't betray this fatal secret or I shall be ruined I think I like Muhammadans—but I cannot go further than that in an Easterly directinn

It was in this setting and with this background that the principle of communal electorates was introduced in the Indian Constitution

THE LUCKNOW PACT

Let me hasten to the next landmark In 1916 when it became known that the British Government were considering reforms in the system of government Hindu and Muslim members of the Indian Legislative Assembly drew up an agreed plan of their own To Indian Nationalists it seemed that Home Rule was in the offing As a result the two major political parties sank their differences made concessions to each other and produced a plan known as the Congress-League Plan based on the presidential theory of government For our purposes the most important feature in this plan was the Lucknow Pact Although Hindus had been bitterly critical of communal electorates when they were first put into operation in 1909, this Pact provided for the distribution of the elected seats in the Legislature on the basis that each community should elect its representatives in separate constituencies The seats were allotted on an All India basis This meant that when a community was in a minority it was to be given more seats than its population justified in order that it might have a more effective position In the United Provinces, for example where the proportion of Muslims to the total population of the electoral area was just over 14 per cent the Lucknow Pact gave a 30 per cent representation and in Bombay, where it was about 20 per cent the Lucknow Pact percentage was 33½ In the Central Legislative Assembly it gave a representation of 33½ per cent. to a Muslim community representing 24 per cent. of the population The Congress agreed to the introduction of communal electorates in the Punjab and Central Provinces, and the Muslims on the other hand were to give up the additional advantage of voting in the general electorates which had been secured for them in the Morley Minto Reforms.

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918) criticized the system of communal electorates on the grounds that they were opposed to the teachings of history, that they perpetuated class divisions and that they stereotyped existing relations. The framers of the Report realized that this was a very serious hindrance to self-government, but, nevertheless pointed out, Much as we regret the necessity we are convinced that so far as the Muhammadans at all events are concerned, the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship. At all events the Report reluctantly accepted the principle of communal electorates for the Muslims on the basis of the Lucknow Pact. After examining the claims of many communities it also extended the principle to the Sikhs.

The Franchise Committee, the Joint Select Committee of Parliament and the House of Commons (surprisingly enough with the support of Mr. Montagu), and the House of Lords accepting the ideas of Lord Curzon and Lord Amphil of took a different view. After much discussion and debate the Bill of 1919 was finally passed and communal representation was widely extended.

All separate electorates for the Muslims were retained. The Sikhs were provided with a separate electoral roll and separate constituencies. Separate electorates were recognized for Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. University representation and representation of other interests, like those of chambers of commerce, trade associations and mining and planting associations, were retained. The nomination of members to represent the Depressed Classes and the representation of organized industry were also recognized.

Although Montagu, like John Morley was opposed to the idea of communal electorates, he continued the vicious element introduced by the latter. This is what he said in his *Indian Diary* about the Indian Christians. These people are growing fast. They number $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions now and will soon have 4 millions, but they have four times the literacy in India and the talk of communal representation for them with their mixed electorates is the most flagrant demand I have ever met. In spite of this view like Morley Montagu gave in and acquiesced in the extension of the idea not only to Indian Christians but to other communities.

The recognition of the claims of the other so-called minority communities, says an Indian writer, means the recognition of the just emerging professional classes among the Sikhs, Maharrats, non-Brahmins, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Depressed Classes. The professional classes of the so-called communities naturally look to the Government for a helping hand.

The Act of 1919 therefore, continued the policy of counterpoise which had been eating like a canker in the body politic in India, dissipating the chances for unity and a healthy, progressive nationalism in the country.

THE NEHRU REPORT

The period from 1919 to the appointment of the Simon Commission was one of increasing rift between the Hindu and Muslim communities. Congress and the League were almost merged for a period of about four years from 1919 as a result of the Caliphate movement, but communal riots continued to be on the increase up to about 1927. At the end of that year the Simon Commission was appointed. In the summer of 1928 a group of Indian Nationalists of all parties got together to draft a constitution for India. The result of their work was embodied in the document known as the Nehru Report. According to Professor Coupland, it was not only an answer to the challenge that Indian Nationalism was unconstructive, but it embodied the frankest attempt yet made by Indians to face squarely the difficulties of communalism.

This committee examined the communal problem exhaustively. It pointed out that if the fullest religious liberty were given and cultural autonomy provided for the communal problem would in effect be solved. A definite stand was taken against communal electorates because they violated the principles of self-government and failed to pave the way for better understanding between the communities, as was

hoped joint or mixed electorates were suggested, with reservation of seats as a communal safeguard for the Muslims only and for the non-Muslims in the North-West Frontier Province. Seats were to be reserved only at the Centre and in those Provinces where Muslims were in a minority. No weightage was allowed, but the right to contest other than reserved seats was conceded. Communalism, said the Report, can only go when the attention of the people is directed in other channels, when they begin to take interest in questions which really affect their daily lives rather than in fancied fears based on an artificial division of society.

Although there were two Muslim members in this All Parties Conference, an All India Muslim Conference under the presidency of the Aga Khan rejected the Nehru Report. A manifesto of Muslim rights was drawn up, and there was a demand that the rights of representation granted to the Muslims under the Act of 1919 should be retained. While Indian politicians were employing themselves in trying to reach some agreement the Simon Commission was at work examining the whole situation.

THE ACT OF 1935

For the purposes of this discussion the Round Table Conferences mark the next stage for consideration. The various communities were unable to agree about the number of seats to be secured in the Legislature and the way in which elections should be conducted. The crux of the matter was whether communal electorates should be maintained or whether there should be joint electorates with the reservation of seats. In this country the Labour Party went out of power and a National Government came in with Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister. The Minorities Sub-Committee having failed to reach an agreement, the Prime Minister made the Communal Award in 1932. Under the scheme the number of seats in the Provincial Legislature was increased to nearly twice that of existing Councils. Separate electorates were retained for the minorities and for Bengal and the Punjab where the Muslims were in a majority. Weightage was also conceded to the Muslims where they were in a minority and to the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab. The Depressed Classes were also now entitled to separate electorates as a minority community, and 3 per cent of the seats in each Provincial Legislature were reserved for women. Separate electorates for the Depressed Classes caused some dissension among Hindu politicians. Mahatma Gandhi was opposed to it and after the panic caused by his last the Poona Pact was agreed to. By the Pact the Depressed Classes gave up their separate electorates and the number of seats reserved for them was increased from 71 to 148. The Depressed Classes were first of all to elect a panel of candidates, and from this members would be elected by the general Hindu voters.

The Act of 1935 followed the Communal Award as modified by the Poona Pact. And so, in the constitution which was working up to the outbreak of war, separate electorates and weightage continued to obtain.

A FRANKENSTEIN

This is a short and necessarily inadequate survey of the constitutional development of communal electorates in India. It is now left to me to indicate some general conclusions in the light of the processes of thought at work whenever communal electorates were being discussed. Here let me state quite categorically that my intention is not to indulge in recriminations or to raise dead issues of the past. The desire has been to review the position in its true perspective.

Since 1910 the outlook about India, Indians and the place of India in a world society has undergone considerable change. Old beliefs and opinions die hard, but two world wars have made men review their outlook. It is a fatal tendency to examine events of the past in the light of present-day advanced views—views which now have been reluctantly accepted and which played no part in the determination or acceptance of those past events. To romanticize past events and accommodate them to present-day views is, in relation to India, to cloak the Government's policy with a mantle of disinterestedness and beneficence which it certainly did not have at the time.

The introduction of communal electorates in 1909 was the greatest blunder committed by the British Government in its relationship with the Indian peoples. We all

know that in Ceylon the system was abandoned, and that the Hilton Young Committee recommended its abolition in Kenya. Every reform since 1909 has recognized the mistake, but has nevertheless continued to perpetuate it. I say a mistake, because I want to put the best construction, but it is difficult not to believe that the policy was a deliberate one. As soon as the principle was conceded there was no knowing where it would stop. Once a community has been recognized and favoured it is unwilling to give up its position of privilege, and, what is more, as important elements in other communities begin to emerge they also seek independent recognition.

In India today all the communities are agreed on one thing. From all classes there is a demand for independence. The British Government having exhausted the policy of concession and counterpoise are now telling Indians. You compose your differences and independence is yours for the taking. It is true that Indians have to come to some agreement, for if communal differences have not been created at least they have been perpetuated by communal electorates. What is more, the claim for Pakistan is the logical result of the introduction of this vicious element in the body politic in India. Forgive me if I give one more quotation about the harm done by communal electorates. This is what Mr. Lionel Curtis says. It is like keeping in irons a weak but healthy limb which only needs exercise to recover its strength. I believe that if this principle is perpetuated we shall have saddled India with a new system of caste which will eat every year more deeply into her life. In conceding the establishment of communal representation we have, I hold, been false to that trust. The system has eaten into the life of this people so deeply that already it is not possible to abolish at one stroke what might have been refused a few years ago.

The history of Indian self government would have run a smoother course if Morley and Minto had not created this Frankenstein monster, which soon got beyond control and which now threatens its own creator.

I do not for a moment contend that there are no differences between Hindus and Muslims and that some sort of safeguards will not have to be provided for the minority communities. But one thing is clear. If communal electorates have not fostered communal tension they have certainly done nothing to alleviate it. The mischief has been done, the matter is now out of the hands of the Government, and Indians are told to settle their differences. The answer of Indian Nationalists is that they cannot arrive at a settlement while the force that created divisions in Indian society remains in power. Perhaps Indians will avail themselves of the outstanding British genius and effect some compromise for the sake of reasserting that growing unity which was counteracted in 1909 and which the British Government might have done so much to crystallize.

One thing, however, is certain. Whatever the system of government in India in the future—be it parliamentary or presidential democracy, or any other system in which the elective principle is involved—communal electorates must go if there is to be a healthy nationhood in India. Taking into account all the complexities of India's political life it is not beyond the genius of man to adapt either joint electorates with reserved seats or proportional representation to satisfy all sections of Indian life.

Alternatively some inspiration could be drawn from the Russian experiment. In the Union, the racial problem is solved by the establishment of a Soviet of Nationalities as a Second Chamber. In this Soviet, the 100 million strong Russian Republic has the same representation of its members as is enjoyed by the 3 million citizens of the Republic of Armenia or the 2 million citizens of Lithuania.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at St. Ermin's, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, on Wednesday July 28, 1943 when Mr. I. J. Bahadoor Singh, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, read his paper entitled 'Communal Electorates in India'.

Mr. HUGH MOLSON M.P., was in the Chair and in introducing the speaker said that Mr. Bahadoor Singh's interest in communal electorates was in a certain sense

academic because he had not had personal experience of their working in India. He had, however, made a close study of this matter and had the advantage of being able to look at it from a detached point of view, having been brought up in the West Indies. He had been in England for a considerable time and was President of the Oxford Union.

Mr BAHADOOR SINGH then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN said an extremely scholarly and carefully documented account of recent constitutional developments in India had been read, and some very interesting sidelights had been thrown upon the motives and intentions of the statesmen who took part in them. The lecturer had certainly dealt with one of the gravest problems of Indian constitutional development, and the Association owed him a great debt of gratitude for undertaking the research necessary to produce the paper.

The Chairman did not take entirely the same view and thought that Mr Bahadur Singh was apt to confuse cause and effect. It was a mistake when trying to produce a constitution for a country to judge that constitution on what one might call theoretical principles. Mr Singh had said that the introduction of communal electorates was altogether opposed to the principles of democratic government, what one should be more concerned about was whether the constitution which had been given to India, and the one which would be given to India really took into account all the historical and racial problems which existed. Democracy and the principle of counting heads, would only work in countries where there was such a degree of unity amongst the people that a minority was willing to acquiesce in the rule of a majority. There were some matters of such importance that men would fight rather than accept any reduction in their rights and customs—things which went so deeply into the very soul of a people that they were not willing to see any encroachment made upon them merely because they happened to live in a certain geographical area. A minority would find it particularly difficult to acquiesce in the rule of a majority if it had no expectation that at the next election, or perhaps in ten or twenty years, there might be a change in the decision of the electorate and that the minority by using argument and persuasion, might become a majority.

The Muhammadan community in India rightly or wrongly felt that their religion, law, language and culture would be threatened by any system of pure democracy on the basis merely of counting heads. The Muhammadan community looking at the Hindu community saw that it was more numerous, better organized, better educated and richer, therefore to the ordinary Muslim undiluted democracy would appear to be a contrivance to put him into a perpetual minority. The Chairman was not surprised, therefore, that, although somewhat academic thinkers like Lord Morley and Mr Montagu were opposed to communal electorates in theory when they had to become responsible for a new constitution which would work they accepted them as a regrettable necessity. It was significant that the Lucknow Pact accepted the need for communal electorates and had worked satisfactorily, that the Nehru Report which did not accept them was not accepted by the Muslim community, and it was upon this very issue that the Indian Round Table Conference broke down. Mr Molson found it difficult to believe that so many great decisions by so many different people over the last thirty-five years could all be due to a disingenuous manoeuvre on the part of the Government of India in 1906.

There were other countries in the world which were confronted by something similar to this communal problem in India. Those countries which were more fortunate found that a minority or a subject community was segregated in a certain place. In 1815 the statesmen who were trying to plan Europe in a way which would enable it to remain at peace indefinitely amalgamated Norway and Sweden and Holland and Belgium, and anyone who approached the matter from a purely academic point of view would say that there was obviously a great deal in favour of carrying out these unifications. In point of fact, Norway broke away from Sweden and Belgium from Holland. Similarly, in the case of Ireland, Northern Ireland had broken away from Southern Ireland. The special difficulty which distinguished the case of India was that there the communities were scattered about the whole of that sub-continent.

in such a way that (in spite of what the advocates of Pakistan might say) it was obviously extremely difficult to break India up in a manner whereby there could be several areas in which either the Muslim community or the Hindu community might rule themselves and obtain respect for their own customs and way of life.

This was why he was inclined to think that, in spite of the very strong theoretical arguments against the communal electorates, the British Government had really no option but to make a concession of that kind to a very virile and vigorous minority which would not have been willing to regard arguments in favour of modern democracy as a sufficient justification for their being put into a permanent minority in the land they had once conquered and ruled.

Sir DRUMMOND SHIELDS thought that the Association was doing a useful service in discussing these important matters just now. All interested in the welfare and future of India were concerned about the present position, which was such that it was difficult to see a way out. It was wise to look back and consider whether mistakes had been made in policy, from the results of which we were suffering today. This problem of minority representation, as the Chairman said, had a wider application than that of India. After this war, in the Balkans and in other parts of Europe, it would be one of the big difficulties of post war reconstruction. Mr Bahadoor Singh, therefore, had done well in preparing this excellent paper which presented an argument with which he (Sir Drummond) entirely agreed though he would also like to express his appreciation of the Chairman's excellent statement of the opposite view.

It was not unusual to hear rather slighting remarks about the method of counting heads. No doubt it was a somewhat arbitrary method of arriving at conclusions, but it was the way in which democracies achieved their political education. The alternative which had been suggested for India—that what should be judged is not the numerical strength of communities but their political importance—led one on to very vague and controversial ground, and begged the question of who was to be the judge.

He had always been opposed to communal electorates though he sincerely believed that the system was introduced in what was thought to be the best interests of India. If a system was to be democratic in spirit and in reality, any artificial grouping of electorates or weightage of representation was not only undesirable but was also in effective, unless one went to the length of turning the minority into a majority, thus making democracy stand on its head. He had never been able to see the justification, the necessity or the wisdom of such a procedure.

In communal electorates there was inevitably a tendency for extremists in each community to be chosen. Men of moderate views willing to give consideration to the claims of the other side were swept aside by the more aggressive and emotional candidates. As a result, the representatives selected were not likely to be reasonable people who would co-operate in important national issues, but those who put what they considered communal interests first. He had hoped that the Simon Commission would see its way to recommend a Common Roll, with reserved seats, as a first step towards the abandonment of communal electorates. It was unfortunate that the Hindu boycott of the Commission prevented a full submission of both sides of the Indian case on that occasion thus undoubtedly handicapping the commissioners.

The Chairman was good enough to mention the present constitution in Ceylon. The Donoughmore Commission—of which he had the privilege of being a member—in drawing up that constitution were faced with this same problem which was not so acute as in India but still presented a very controversial issue, and one which aroused considerable feeling and agitation. There were communal electorates, but, fortunately at the previous revision of the constitution a Common Roll with reserved seats had been instituted, which made it possible for the Commission to recommend the abolition of communal electorates, which was done. The commissioners were greatly influenced in their decision by the coming before them of innumerable deputations from all sorts of communities, other than those already represented in the communal electorates claiming that they were in great danger from the majority communities and that they must be protected and given separate representation.

As has been already said, this matter has wider ramifications than India or Ceylon, there it was associated with religion, but there were other kinds of minorities. He did

not believe that any minority could be protected by political segregation or by artificial bolstering up of electorates. It seemed to him that the method which was introduced into Ceylon was the proper one—viz. that it should be made part of the constitution of the country that any proposed legislative or administrative measure which discriminated in any way against any section of the population should be—*ipso facto*—*ultra vires*. The ultimate decision on any such measure would lie with the Supreme Law Court of the country. That was analogous to the position in the United States, and it seemed to be the sensible and proper method of procedure.

The Chairman mentioned religion and community culture. These undoubtedly aroused great emotional reactions in any community, and should be removed as far as possible from political controversy. If as in Ceylon discrimination in these matters was not permitted to legislative or administrative bodies this would be more easily achieved. Communal electorates, on the other hand kept alive racial and religious antagonisms and made them political issues.

It was important in India, Ceylon and similar countries to try to get a different kind of representation. We were living in a modern world where the great things to strive for were a decent and workable economic system, a higher standard of life and fuller opportunities for useful citizenship. These were the issues on which electorates should vote if they were to be in line with their fellows in progressive countries.

He believed that communal representation was an obstacle to developing an India with a truly national democratic and progressive outlook. The demand for this artificial security grew and grew. The process had gone on and on from the originally small Muhammadan demand in Morley Minto days and now they had come to Pakistan.

It was very difficult to know what to do today. Any attempt to go back to the beginning would be bitterly opposed and was not likely to be tried. But it was well worth consideration as Mr Bahadur Singh had suggested whether some half way house or a method of proportional representation might be devised in any new constitution. It might be that the Common Roll with reserved seats would not fit into the new design but it should be seriously considered whether a way could not be opened up for the ultimate elimination of communal representation in the interests of both majority and minority communities and of India as a whole.

Mr WARIS AMER ALI said that his father the late Right Hon. Ameer Ali—along with H. H. the Aga Khan—was one of the prime movers of the principle known as communal electorates. He assured the audience that there was no question of any partiality on the part of the late John Morley who was a straight dyed-in-the-wool Liberal brought up on the same political principles as Sir Drummond Shiels. He himself was an undergraduate at the time and asked his father what was the harm of Indian communities voting together. The reply was that Muslims were forbidden by their religion to lend money at interest and when the average Muslim of the average type had to obtain the equivalent of a bank overdraft he had to go to a Hindu moneylender and under any system of reserved seats, electoral colleges or other suggestions put forward by Sir Drummond Shiels (all of which were raised by John Morley at the time), the creditor could if he wished exercise an undue influence on the individual. This was the reason for the intense desire of the great majority of Muslims to reserve to themselves a free and unfettered choice of representatives as accorded under Indian conditions only by completely separate electorates.

What was the cure for that? It was fair and straight dealing by all concerned. There were many Hindu Princes with Muslim subjects, and relations between the two were in many cases cordial and had been so for a very long time. The difficulty therefore could be overcome. There was no particular magic in any form of electorate, the democratic system was the best that imperfect humanity had yet devised for ensuring the representation of the will of the bulk of the people and whether it was done in *x* or *y* manner did not amount to much provided there was an unfettered choice.

He was a returning officer in the first election under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and found that the communal electorate did not produce any particularly virulent communal partisans. On the other hand, he found it produced a fairly

ordinary representative set of people elected by their own kind. He would go further and confirm what the Chairman had said. He thought they had to strike out a new line in India, rejecting all preconceived ideas. If a representative system was evolved from a horizontal point of view instead of a vertical, with far wider territorial constituencies representing all the major castes and interests of the provinces, there would be truly representative Legislatures. Harking back to the 1920 election in Fyzabad the majority of the Hindu population were Rajputs of a very good kind who formed the most powerful community. To the best of his recollection there had only been one non Rajput Hindu representative since 1920, and the other Hindu communities, Brahmins etc. felt a little nettled and that their interests were sometimes left unrepresented. Would it not therefore be better to extend the principle of separate electorates to a wider sphere?

As a result of so-called Congress Governments (which had been largely dictated to by people who were not in the Legislatures), since the Act of 1935 the minorities especially the Muslims in certain Provinces, had been so irritated and upset by the conduct of these Governments that they were delighted when they went out of office, and they would not be prepared at the present moment or until they realized that they would be properly treated to give up their right of a free and unfettered choice. The future rested in the hands of the majorities of those concerned in politics, and if they would get down to the ultimate principle of the greatest good of the greatest number and further than that, to the principle of mutual self-sacrifice there was hope for the future. It must, however, be re-emphasized that the Muslim League, which was representative of the domestic views on India of the vast majority of its 94 million Muslims would never consent to the abandonment of their great safeguard against undue influence in elections the separate electorates.

MOULVI J. D. SHAMS said that it was a fact that the differences between Muslims and Hindus in India were so vivid that they could not even be compared with the example of the West Indies. In other countries there were reasons which made them live in complete harmony and unity. In England the Muslims and Hindus ate and drank together but in India they would not. A Hindu would not take water from the hands of a Muslim. The mutual confidence and tolerance which were essential for a joint electorate were to a great extent absent in India and until that confidence was restored the present system should be retained.

There were other reasons why the Muslims felt as they did, one being that India had never had national or representative government for any length of time. It was divided into a number of independent states for thousands of years which had resulted in the people devoting their energies to the interests of their own communities. Another reason was that the majorities and minorities differentiated from all others in the world in that their divisions were not founded on politics but on religion. Political views might change at any stage resulting in the corresponding change in the majority but it was very unlikely that the fundamental differences between the Indian communities would alter.

He did not think that a joint electorate with reserved seats could be satisfactory to the Muslim community. It might do harm especially in the Punjab and Bengal Provinces where Muslims were only in a small majority. Separate electorates only could secure true representation for the Muslims.

The Rev. T. F. COOKE said that as a District Police Officer in India for twenty-six years he had dealt with innumerable communal situations. Before the last war they were usually of a religious nature but later they were caused by communal issues, quite apart from religion owing to the changes which had come over the country. In one locality the Hindus, who had lived in small communities under the shelter of the Muslims as their shopkeepers, now owned the land and the Muslims were living round them as their tenants. In 1914 there was a rumour that the Germans had landed, and the Muslims started looting the Hindus and the military had to be called out. Again in 1931 in one village the whole of the Hindu quarter was set in flames on a moral issue and the whole country was on the move again. The case went into court. He tried to settle the matter between the two communities. They were per-

fectly willing to settle it between themselves, but the case had to go through and over a hundred men were in gaol for several months, and in the end the case failed because so many lies were told. If the indigenous panchayat method had been used the matter could have been settled amongst themselves, and instead of bitterness communal peace would have been secured.

The system of communal electorates was aggravating communal tension even between the Muslim tribes, and efforts to get over this by mutual agreements had failed. In this country there was an idea that there could not be any democracy unless there was a counting of heads but if the panchayat system was adopted it would settle a lot of the communal trouble in a truly democratic manner.

MR. BAHADOOR SINGH, in reply, said that he was in entire agreement with the Chairman's remarks regarding democracy, but in his talk he said, whatever the future of the government of India if the democratic principle was involved communal electorates must go. He had not attempted to belittle the fundamental differences between the communities but communal electorates were not the way to deal with them. They created a wider breach between the communities and made the settlement of problems more difficult. That was the fundamental thread running through his lecture.

SIR JOHN HUBBACK moved a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper. It was extremely scholarly and those who had examined the progress of constitutional development in India for the last twenty-five thirty or forty years would accord very grateful appreciation to the excellent examination which the speaker had made. He did not altogether agree with him. He did not think that the lecturer had completely demonstrated the fact that Lord Morley had never deserved his earlier title of

Honest John nor was Lord Minto cast in the mould of a Machiavelli. At the same time it was possible to hold views of that kind but it was a matter of history, and it was extremely good to find that an Indian who had never or very little, lived in India had such a keen and well thought-out interest in the affairs of that very great country.

SIR JOHN WOODHEAD seconded the vote of thanks which was accorded by applause, and SIR LOUIS DANE proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman which was also accorded by applause.

TEMPLE ENTRY IN TRAVANCORE

In a message received from Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore, attention is drawn to the following passage in Sir Hassan Suhrawardy's paper on

The Indian Crisis Muslim Viewpoints, read before the East India Association in November, 1942, and published in the *Asiatic Review* for January, 1943

As a result of the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, the progressive State of Travancore threw open the doors of temples for worship to non-caste Hindus. But this concession was restricted in such a way that non-caste Hindus could only enter the temples at prescribed hours—after the caste Hindus had finished their worship. For the non-caste Hindus the worship had to be conducted by priests who could not, on grounds of supposed contamination, minister to the spiritual needs of the high-caste Hindus. After the non-caste worshippers left, the temples had to be washed, fumigated and purified, according to orthodox ritual, at State expense.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer states it is untrue that the Travancore temple entry proclamation was the result of the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi. Temple entry in Travancore was granted after Mahatma Gandhi's efforts had failed. There are over 2,000 temples to which the proclamation issued by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore applies, and in none of these is the concession restricted as to hours of worship or to the class of priests who may officiate. It is absolutely untrue that the temples are purified after non-caste worshippers leave them. Since 1936, when the proclamation was issued, two million persons from all parts of India have visited these temples including members of the backward communities, and all will assuredly testify to the incorrectness of the statements made in the paper.

Sir Hassan Suhrawardy who has been informed of the communication received from Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyer, writes to say that he was distressed to learn of the message from the Dewan. The passage in his paper to which objection has been taken was based on statements in the *Memorandum on the Basis and Structure of Indian Government*, written by Dr T G Percival Spear, of St Stephen's College, Delhi and printed in January, 1940. He adds that his observations were not made in any spirit of captious criticism; indeed, he had spoken of Travancore as a progressive State. He readily accepts the assurances of Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyer in regard to the position in Travancore and regrets that he made statements on the basis of information which now proves to be incorrect.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association)

INDIAN STATES IN THE INDIAN POLITY

By SIR V T KRISHNAMACHARI, K C I E.

POLITICALLY, India consists of two parts—British India, governed by the Crown according to the statutes of Parliament and laws made by the Indian Legislatures, and the Indian States, bound to the Crown on a basis of what has been described as subordinate co-operation. The distinguishing characteristics of Indian States are that Parliament and the subordinate Legislatures set up by Parliament in India have no power of legislation in regard to them and that they are under hereditary rulers whose relationship to the Crown is governed by treaties (in the case of forty States), engagements, sanads or political usage.

The map of India, says Sir Bampfylde Fuller, may be likened to an ancient tessellated pavement, the greater part of which has been replaced by slabs of uncoloured stone work. The *tesserae* represent the Native States. According to official publications there are 562 States these cover about two-fifths of India and contain an aggregate population of 93 millions a little less than one fourth of the total population of India. The States vary from Hyderabad with an area of 82,700 square miles a population of 16 millions and revenue of over £7,000,000 to single villages with minute populations and revenues of less than £150 divided among 20 to 30 shareholders. It is well to remember however that 8 of the largest States contain more than half the population of the States and that nearly two-thirds of the population live in the 15 largest States. Many of the important States existed before the advent of the British power in India and came into relations with the Crown early in the nineteenth century. The smaller States with limited powers or estates—nearly 400 out of the 562 mentioned above—originally paid tributes, or were in other ways subordinate to important States. Between 1818 and 1840 they were mediatized or made independent of the parent or superior States and constituted into groups which eventually came to be administered by officers of the Crown. In their nature and the problems they present these estates are entirely different from full powered States. In between the major States and the mediatized estates are States with complete powers which do not possess sufficient revenues to afford the essentials of good government. The distinction between these three groups—the major States, the other States and the mediatized estates—is of vital importance in the consideration of the complicated problems presented by Indian States though there will always be difference of opinion as to the line of demarcation between the first two groups.

When settled conditions emerged out of the welter of wars and internal disorder, a strong centralized governmental system was evolved in India which continues to this day with its essential features unchanged. At the head of this is the Governor-General in Council representing the Crown. He has a dual capacity. He administers the affairs of British India through an elaborate machinery which is described elsewhere. He is also in charge of the relations with Indian States. (In this capacity he is usually referred to as the Viceroy.) In the conduct of these he is assisted by officers of the political department. The more important States have political officers living in their capitals. Other States are grouped together and a political officer is assigned to each group. The main functions of the Crown in relation to States fall under five heads. Firstly, as the States have no international life the Crown represents them in external affairs and protects their subjects when residing or travelling abroad. States are therefore under an obligation to observe international arrangements for extradition etc. Secondly, interstate relations are conducted through the Crown. Though the formation of the Chamber of Princes has enabled the States to come together the position still remains that all agreements between States have to be concluded through the Crown. Thirdly the Crown is under an obligation to protect the States, whether they have made a contribution to the cost of the defence of India or not. Fourthly while the general policy of the Crown is one of non-interference in the internal affairs of Indian States, the Crown has the obligation to see that a minimum

standard of efficiency is maintained in the administration and that there is no misrule or oppression and to intervene and reform serious abuses where they exist. The basis for this is set out in the following extract from Lord Reading's letter to H.E.H. the Nizam in 1926

The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown. The British Government have indeed shown again and again that they have no desire to exercise this right without grave reason. But the internal, no less than the external, security which the Ruling Princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where Imperial interests are concerned or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action if necessary must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility.

It is not always easy to say when abuses in an administration amount to misgovernment and the degree of intervention depends on the personality of the Viceroy and the policies followed from time to time. It is not surprising therefore that, on the one hand the Crown is blamed for interference without adequate grounds and on the other for delaying intervention till much avoidable suffering had been caused to the subjects. Fifthly geographically India is one and indivisible and it is an important function of the Crown to secure that, in matters of common concern to the whole of India—economic and fiscal matters—the autonomy of States is reconciled with the common good of India as a whole.

For the sake of technical correctness it should be added that in the Act of 1935 the functions in relation to States are assigned to the Crown Representative as opposed to the Governor-General who represents the Crown in British India. Both offices have so far been combined in the same person.

Life in the major Indian States presents special characteristics different from British India. Much of it, even in these days, centres round the Ruler. This can be easily understood. In the States the ruling dynasty is at least 150 years old and in some cases much older and many ties bind the people to them. Largely on this account there is more social homogeneity than in British India and the harmony of life is generally undisturbed even where a composite social structure exists. Also a cultural tradition has been built up in which the old and new are blended and there is pride in being part of a unit which has evolved a distinctive individuality through many decades. These larger States have modelled their governmental machinery and administrative arrangements on British India, but the spirit that actuates their working differs in the respects above mentioned. There is in practically all cases, an Executive Council with heads of departments and district and subordinate officers on the same system as in British India. The judicial arrangements are also on the same lines. The rule of law prevails. Land revenue settlements are on the whole equitable and in some States assessments are lighter than in adjoining British India. Development activities and social services are also organized on the same lines. These States, for example, have built and are maintaining railways of their own where conditions favour it there are irrigation systems and hydro-electric works on which millions of pounds have been spent, the mineral resources are surveyed and worked on up-to-date methods there are large electrical and telephone systems, several States have State or State-aided banks catering for the needs of the people, and maritime States have their ports. All States, again, maintain agricultural departments and the co-operative movement is making fair progress. Three of the States have universities of their own, in one of which the experiment of imparting the highest instruction in a vernacular, Urdu instead of English is meeting with success. Most of them have colleges and all have secondary and primary schools and technical institutes. Medical relief is widespread. The more progressive Rulers have set before themselves a high ideal, as can be seen in the following quotation from a speech made by one of them.

In many fields of activity—mass education, reorientation of indigenous culture, social legislation, devising of methods for associating the people with the administration, reconciliation of conflicting communal and other interests—the States with their distinctive traditions can embark on fruitful experiments, and it would be a pity to do anything which would deprive India of this wealth of political and administrative experience.

Some States are definitely in advance of British India in the extent of their social services and in development activities. It is in an Indian State that there is the highest percentage of literacy in India among men and women. Compulsory primary education for boys and girls was first introduced in an Indian State. Laws to bring Hindu law into accord with the vast changes that have occurred in society have been under taken so far only in Indian States. These facts are enough to refute the charge usually made that States perpetuate medieval conditions. It is not claimed that the rate of progress in all the States coming under this group has been satisfactory. A rough assessment may be made: about a third of the populations in this category fall behind British India in the social services they enjoy; about one third enjoy higher standards of social service than in British India, and in the remaining third conditions are the same as in British India.

With the progressive advance of democratic institutions in British India the question of constitutional reforms in States assumed importance as was to be expected.

Hopes and aspirations may overleap frontier lines like sparks across a street. Representative institutions have developed in the larger States with varying degrees of influence on the administration. When British India advanced to responsible government in the dyarchic system of 1919 and in the provincial autonomy of 1935 the States held back. Most of them felt that the working of the system in British India had revealed stresses and strains and that they should explore other lines of progress more in accordance with their local conditions. In recent years advances in constitutional reforms have been made in some States and schemes are under active consideration in others. Progress is essential and variations suited to individual traditions and requirements should certainly be encouraged.

The medium States are in a difficult position as many of them have not sufficient resources to bear the burden of an organized administration meeting modern needs. Schemes have been framed by groups of these States for confederation for purposes of judicial and police administration and development activities. These may provide a solution of the problems which face the States falling under this head. The estates, which form our third class, do not possess the rudiments of good government. They are now being encouraged to join their parent or other States on terms approved by the Crown.

With the development of India the range of matters of common concern between British India and Indian States tended to become wider and wider and one of the most important functions of the Governor-General is to adjust the relations between them on an equitable basis. The first of these is Defence. Many States contribute to the defence of India by payment of tributes. Several have ceded territories for this purpose. States, again maintain military forces, portions of which have been allotted a definite share in the defence of the country under an elaborately designed scheme. Such forces played an important part in the last war and are taking their share in the present world struggle. In the second category fall the arrangements made in regard to the railway system of India: posts, telegraphs and telephones. The railway system of India is a large one with a mileage of 41,200. In these are comprised trunk lines traversing the country from one end to another and strategic lines. For constructing and working these it was necessary to arrange with States the conditions on which such lines were to be allowed to pass through their territories and the terms on which States should acquire and provide the lands needed and also to secure efficient policing of the lines and a measure of uniformity in the civil and criminal laws applicable. Again as between the railway systems belonging to Indian States and those of British India uniformity was essential in regard to safety, rates and interchange of traffic. Somewhat similar problems arose in regard to the trunk telephone systems. Again, to secure uniform postal and currency systems for India agreements had to be come to with Indian States. In all these, existing treaties were of no value. They did

not cover such matters. Separate treaties and engagements had therefore to be made with individual States and a code of practice had to be built up in regard to subsidiary matters.

Thirdly come fiscal issues. Sea customs, as an instance. Agreements have been made with maritime States under which they are under an obligation to adopt the tariffs in force in British India from time to time and which define the extent of the retention by them of customs revenue collected at their ports. Salt is a monopoly and the duty on it brings a large revenue to British India. To effectuate this monopoly terms have been arranged under which States that used to manufacture salt gave up their rights. Along with this was taken up the question of freeing the trade of India from internal restrictions—the abolition of all duties levied by States on goods in transit from one part of India to another. Similarly, arrangements have been made with States in regard to excise duties on matches, sugar, etc. The steps taken by the Crown in these matters have been of the utmost value to India as a whole without them the country could not have developed its present economic and fiscal systems. The States have complained frequently that, in these measures their interests were sacrificed to those of British India, it is not profitable to examine here whether this complaint has a basis in fact.

The policy of economic co-ordination and adjustment described above paved the way as a more or less normal development for the All India Federation which was provided for in the Act of 1935. The justification for the scheme in the words of Lord Linlithgow, is. First that the early establishment of a constitutional relationship between the States and British India is of the utmost importance from the point of view of the maintenance of unity in India and secondly that the existence of a central Government capable of formulating policies affecting the interests of the sub-continent as a whole is of direct and immediate relevance to the economic circumstances of the India of today. The negotiations for bringing this part of the Act into force were in progress when war was declared. It was then decided that further action should be held in abeyance. Later on came the Cripps declaration and the events connected with it. Their bearing on India's constitutional status has led to controversies which cannot be touched on here.

What is to be the future of the States? It is impossible to forecast this at present. Much will depend on how long the war lasts and the forces released by it. One thing is certain that there will be a drastic reconstruction of society immediately after the war. States cannot escape the effect of these forces and will have to readjust themselves in response to them. In the meantime they feel they can usefully devote themselves to the immediate measures of reconstruction, the need for which is recognized. In the first place it is felt that much greater progress should be made than in the past with schemes of co-operation and consolidation of medium states and with the schemes for the joining of estates to parent and other States. It is difficult to say how far this process of consolidation should go but with the demand for higher standards of living among the people present ideas on the subject have to be revised.

Secondly all States are convinced that they should make a steady effort to offer to their people a much higher standard of living than exists today and a much higher standard of social services generally. A larger proportion of the revenues will have to be devoted to these ends. This will mean a great drive for rural improvement and also that States should play their part in the increased industrialization of India. Thirdly the pace of constitutional reforms will have to be quickened so that there may be as little disparity as possible between British India and the States. It is obvious that there need be no striving after uniformity with British India but experiments in the association of the people with the Government should be made in accordance with local traditions and sentiments.

Lastly there is the problem of the reorientation of the relations of the States with British India. The States have made it clear beyond all doubt, that they share with British India the desire that India should attain Dominion status —i.e. equality with Britain—without delay, and that they would be prepared to readjust their relations with the new India on terms which would be equitable to all interests concerned. There need be no doubt that these readjustments will be effected in a spirit of give and take and of mutual understanding.

THE FUTURE OF BRITISH TRADE WITH INDIA*

By SIR ALFRED WATSON

I START with two propositions—the one incontestable the second challenged by various schools of thought. My first axiom is that unless in the years after the war we can recover and expand our export trade all the planning for social security, the Beveridge scheme and the like will be waste effort. There will be neither the money nor the employment that will make them workable. We have sacrificed most of the foreign investments the interest upon which we received in food and the raw materials for manufacture. To obtain these we have got to export in greater quantity and value than before, and for these increased exports we have got to find a market.

My second proposition allowing for a larger margin of difference of opinion is that if trade and industry are to be Government-controlled and the cost of that control is to be superadded to the higher wages and taxation—the contrast is with pre-war conditions—then we shall find difficulty in selling in any market at all. If we are to see a revival of the system of quotas barter agreements the struggle for self-sufficiency that are the almost inevitable accompaniments of Government control then there can be no emergence from the general state of poverty. Here I am looking at comparatively long term conditions. Immediately after the war there will be an imperative demand for goods of every kind from practically all the world but it will be for goods for which the recipients cannot pay goods to set ravished countries at work again goods that must be supplied largely on credit and financed by the Governments of countries that themselves will be impoverished. There will be no absence of demand for everything that it can be won from the soil or manufactured. What will be wanting is the ability to pay.

This afternoon I look beyond this period which may last for two or three years in which a measure of Government control will be absolutely unavoidable to the years beyond when markets must be sought and the competition for them will be keen. We may well ask ourselves where they are to be found. There are those who would turn to the countries of the South American continent where vast developments are certain in the present century but there we shall have a most formidable competitor in the expanded productive capacity of the United States seeking an outlet for its manufactures. And let it be remembered that the greater proportion of our investments in South America have been transferred in American hands and we no longer have the claim that we had upon exports from those countries. The channels through which trade formerly flowed have been silted up and trade will almost certainly pass along new routes.

What then of the Colonies and Dominions? Here when we think in terms of expansion we are confronted by two big facts. War has brought to the Dominions an unprecedented expansion in manufacturing capacity. That has been a big gain to the war effort of the Allies, but when war is over we shall find Canada, Australia and New Zealand to say nothing of South Africa in a position to supply for themselves many of the requirements they have hitherto sought from us. The second fact is that although these are immense countries, they have populations comparatively small. Canada with ten millions, Australia with six and a half millions, the Union of South Africa with eight millions—all these together have about half the population of Great Britain. When you are thinking in terms of a world market such figures are insignificant enough, even if these millions were seeking goods from outside their own areas to the same extent as they were before the war. But that will not be their position. Not only will they have ceased to be customers for much that they can now

* Based on an address delivered at the Royal Empire Society under the auspices of the Institute of Export.

supply for themselves the whole tendency will be for them to become competitors in markets hitherto the preserve of the more highly industrialized nations.

If we seek a larger and more profitable market, we must go to areas that have large populations, with those populations in need of most of the things that we have come to regard as the necessities of life, and unable to supply their requirements. So I come to my thesis of this afternoon. Only in Asia do you find these essentials for profitable commerce on the largest scale. But it will be said that the teeming millions of India and China are, taking them in the bulk, living near the margin of existence, and that you cannot sell to people in such conditions. It is true that you cannot build a profitable market amid an impoverished people. You must first raise their standards of life. Is there any difficulty about that? In spite of the industrial development that there has been in India in the present century, and the vastly increased speed of that development under war conditions, it remains true that a large proportion of the Indian peoples are agriculturists. I submit today that it is a matter of world concern that the prime producer not only of India but of the world at large shall receive a better return for what he has to sell. Everybody admits that the farmer in Great Britain cannot be allowed to sink back to pre-war conditions. He must have in the future a better price for what he has to sell. That is a prime necessity for security at home. Higher prices for the agriculturists are also the foundation upon which prosperity for the industries of the world must be built. The raising of the standard of life of the four hundred millions of India is a humanitarian necessity but if it were not it would be good business.

When I was active in India I more than once suggested to great men in the jute trade that the way to get rid of the main speculative elements in their business was to estimate the raw jute they would require and to guarantee to the cultivator a fixed price for the calculated quantity. The system by which in a season of plenty godowns were filled to capacity with the consequence that in the following year there was a small demand at prices that compelled the peasant grower to resort to the money lender was simply gambling not in jute but in the lives and sustenance of millions of poor people. Needless to say I was treated as a dreamy journalist without acquaintance with hard business affairs but since then the Provincial Government has found it essential to regulate the yearly crop sowings. Somehow or other you have got to ensure the cultivator a guaranteed livelihood and that at a higher level than in the past.

The corollary to a rise in the agricultural price is an increase in the industrial wage. That will be to the good in more than one way. The increase in purchasing power will broaden the market. At the same time it should diminish that ever present night mare of the Western worker that his wage level will be reduced or that he will be condemned to unemployment by the cheapness of Oriental labour.

Frequently in the past I have made a calculation which I repeat today. If you can raise the average income in India by no more than £1 a head you create a market—internal and external—for £400,000,000 of new goods a year. And what is true of India is true also of China. The East still holds its glittering prizes beside which the sterling resources of the Reserve Bank of India sink into insignificance.

No current idea is more erroneous than that the better trade is fostered when exchange of goods is between an industrialized country and what I may call a backward area. You have only to glance at a table of world statistics of trade to discover that the more flourishing business is done between the industrialized nations. That must be the answer to those who fear that the more rapid industrialization of India forced by war conditions will mean a restriction of markets. The very reverse may be anticipated. In India you have a country in which nearly all that we regard as necessities are without the reach of the great bulk of the population. Let Indian industry expand as it may it will be generations before India will be in sight of supplying needs that will grow with every rise in the level of the population.

In making that calculation, let me remind you that the growth of industry in India has been steadily falling behind the increase in the population. In ten years India has added fifty millions to the mouths to be fed and the bodies to be clothed. There has been no corresponding increase in the numbers engaged in industry, but an actual decline as the older village handcraftsmen have failed to meet the competition

of the machine. Whatever readjustments war may have made, these cannot have greatly disturbed the uneven balance between industry and agriculture.

Of the magnitude of the market that is open or can be created there is no doubt. Certainly there is none in the American mind. Writers on economics in the American press are insistent on the opportunities that will offer themselves in India to the products of the United States. And though most of them concede that we must have a seat at the feast, it is usually an inferior place below the salt. That this is not a rhetorical exaggeration is plain from a warning recently given to his countrymen by Mr Karl Mattusch, writing in *Amerasia*. It is also, he says, in our own enlightened self-interest that we develop a scheme by which we share with Great Britain and other nations not only the world's raw materials but also the world's markets, because we alone—although our isolationist imperialists may be dreaming of it—cannot hope to satisfy the demands of an expanding world economy. British experience and skill will be a vital element in any such scheme if it is to be successful. We may be grateful for that kindly thought.

America need not fear that any attempt will be made on our part to exclude her from the Indian market. None was made in the days when we had absolute power in India. We no longer have the power even if we had the will. For twenty years past India has had absolute economic independence and has exercised it without regard to British interests. The story of India's tariff legislation—initiated let me remind you, by English members of the Executive Council—is a story of measures aimed at the main British exports to India in the past. The exploitation of India with which we are recklessly charged is a myth surviving from the early days of John Company and has no remote relation to the facts of the present century. There is no such record in colonial history as the manner in which British industrial interests have been sacrificed on the altar of India's welfare.

As the Indian market has been open to all comers in the past on equal terms, so in the future we ask no better terms for ourselves than are accorded to others and none better than we shall give in our own market to the products of India. At this point I must utter a warning. Sections of Indian politicians have been clamouring for the application of the political clauses of the Atlantic Charter to their country. One is not so certain that they will be as eager to accept the economic implications of that document—greater freedom of trade, a lowering of tariff barriers, access to raw materials for all nations on equal terms. India is one of the high tariff countries. Her industrialists have drunk deep at the well of economic nationalism. It is not without significance that the memorandum recently addressed to the Government of India by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce supported the proposal that India's large sterling credits should be applied to the acquisition without delay of British investments in joint stock companies. The English investor would not object provided he were given a fair price for his holdings, but no policy could be more short sighted in the interests of India. If India's internal industry and her trade with the outside world is to bring a substantial rise in the conditions of her peoples, then not only the present British investment in the country, together with the sterling balances, will be required, India must have many hundreds of millions of capital for new enterprises and must seek a large proportion of these abroad. To that capital she must offer security or it will not be forthcoming. India will be in a better financial position than most other great countries after the war, but with all the nations clamorous for new capital for reconstruction she will not be able to make any hard bargain or to dispense with the life-blood of her existing industries.

What India will immediately require after the war will be a full equipment of machinery for her present and her new industries. Nearly all that she now possesses will have been worked to destruction. The railways, the mills, the collieries, road transport by motor—all will have to be re-equipped. New industries must obtain their appropriate tools. With her comparatively small reserves of hard coal and her vast water power, India offers a wonderful opportunity for the application of electrical energy to every branch of her new industrialization, so escaping a major evil of our own past industrial growth. In no distant time I see the whole of the railway system of India turned over to electricity. Imagine what that must mean in the demand for capital and appliances of every description.

All this demand will alter the character of her imports. That process of change was already in operation before the war.

Writing some seven years ago in *Lloyd's Bank Review* I called attention to the fact that the new generation of English business men were falling back in the competition for trade in India. There was a disposition to cling to the old lines of commerce, which were dying before our eyes, and a failure to embark on fresh ventures. How far the process of decay had gone before the war is seen in the fall from the British proportion of 61 per cent. of India's imports in 1914 to 25 per cent. in 1939. An American writer Miss Kate Mitchell, puts the same observation into these words:

No one can deny the vital and constructive rôle played by Britain in laying the foundations for India's material progress in the modern world but the fact remains that the British did not complete their work. They destroyed the foundations of the old self-sufficient economy but were unwilling to complete the construction of a new one to take its place.

I put the position bluntly. Unless the new generation of British business men recaptures the pioneer spirit of men like Sir David Yule, Lord Cable and the first Lord Inchcape, unless it is prepared to take risks, if it is to be marked by the timidity of the years between the two wars, if it is content to sit in its chairs in palatial offices in Calcutta or Bombay or Rangoon believing that business will come of its own accord, then it would be far better to retire from the market altogether and be content to preside as a mourner at the funeral of British trade in the East. Either that or it must accept Government control at every stage, relying on Government credits with the certainty that if Governments take the risk they will also claim the lion's share of the profits.

Above all a new vision is required. That is true over the whole field of our foreign trade. In the past we were relying far too much upon a few staples which other countries were ceasing to want. Mr. Karl Marx puts the position thus:

Britain's export industry was geared to cotton manufactures accounting for one third and coal and steel accounting for one fifth of her total exports. She must radically transform her industrial set up if she is to maintain her position as a leading exporter. Are we after this war to have a repetition of the experience after the last war when the Indian market enriched by war profits, was flooded by American motor-cars and by cheaper Japanese goods in every category from matches to bicycles and piece goods? There will be the same temptation to slackness. In the first years, the home market denuded of supplies of every kind will offer a readier and possibly more profitable outlet for business. The countries of the Continent backed probably by large Government credits may seem to offer less risk than the East. If the easy path is to be chosen then after the brief time of high prosperity we shall awake to the fact that others—the United States, Australia and Japan—are almost impregnable entrenched in the more distant markets. To recover lost ground will require an enormous and expensive effort. We have got to be in at the beginning which means preparing now.

After all we can start if we are determined to do so with enormous advantages. We have a firm footing in the Eastern markets. The much-criticized merchant agencies have experience and skill at their command. They know the people with whom they have to deal and they enjoy the confidence of their customers. The Indian staffs are trained in transactions in the English language. The main shipping services are British, and although Indian nationalism will certainly want to reserve the coastal trade any such endeavour will probably be short-lived. Navigation Acts have become an outworn device for countries that seek a world-wide trade as India must in her own material interests. It has been well said by Sir David Chadwick that in the time of Akbar one moderate-sized modern steamship of 5,000 tons gross sailing once a month, would have been sufficient to carry the whole of India's sea-borne trade. In 1930, ships exceeding eight million tons gross cleared with cargo from ports in India also in that year another million tons of shipping left Burmese ports. The commonly expressed belief finding its place in nationalistic literature, that the British have destroyed an immense trade carried on by Indian shipping is another of those myths in which Indian affairs are so rich.

Already I have spoken of some of the larger openings for trade in India that are

obvious enough, but in a gathering of business men I shall naturally be asked for more particulars. My answer is that it is scarcely possible to set a limit to India's needs. Years ago an enthusiastic manufacturer of optical instruments told me that he would not be content until every household in the world had its prism binoculars. We have not arrived at the stage when we can contemplate that for India, but the manner in which the sewing machine has penetrated to every village is an example of the enterprise that is wanted. When we grasp the fact that the import of motor vehicles into India before the war exceeded the total volume of all India's imports a century before, we have another example of the possibilities that lie ahead. The manner in which India has been induced to smoke the cigarette provides a further instance of how trade and industry may be developed. Most far seeing of all was the man who in a land where most of the population walks barefoot set up a modern shoe factory and made a success of it. The field of commercial advance is almost co-extensive with human need.

I have scarcely glanced at the Indian political situation, but the position after the war will be one in which we cannot look for any special recognition of the British position. Our people in the country will have no privilege not enjoyed by others, and will seek none. Our only advantage will be that we are already on the ground. The future British community in India has to recognize the Indian as an equal and them selves as guests. If that relationship is to be satisfactory on both sides, British commerce must see to it that the men who represent it in India have both some acquaintance with the languages of the people and respect for the various cultures of the country. In plain language, we have to abandon any attitude of superiority and to come nearer to sympathy with Indian thought.

Summing up everything that I have to say today it would be that as a consequence of the war we have to face a radical change in world economy and that change will be even more apparent in the East than elsewhere. The process by which Japan in the course of half a century transformed herself from a sea locked people into a world power in commerce and industry is at work amid populations vastly exceeding the seventy or eighty millions of Japan. The process of change may be much more rapid than it was in the case of Japan. New and formidable competitors for trade are being born but that need not affright us if we face the situation with the high courage and enterprise of the men who built up our foreign commerce. These developing countries will not only be competitors in our past markets. As they grow in internal prosperity they will be better customers than they could possibly be while living in the primitive conditions of the past. Nor need the industrial labour of the more advanced countries fear that it will be swamped by the goods of people working at lower wages and with fewer of the amenities of life. That is a boggy that all recent experience should dispel. The Indian and the Chinese worker are going to demand more and more of life. Their standards have already risen markedly. And it is to that continuing rise that we must look for that expansion of our own trade, without which all our dreams of a better future for the British worker will prove the mocking mirror of mirage.

Let it be said that I have been looking to the narrow personal interests of big business, let me say that, while the taking of risks deserves its reward that is really the smallest element to which we have to have regard. What is at stake when we look to the East is employment for our people and the yield to national revenues that every successful enterprise must make. If we repudiate Government control as hampering and ultimately disastrous we may yet look for Government encouragement of every form of endeavour that will improve national welfare and at the same time raise the level of life throughout the East.

Addressing Indians trained in Britain last Saturday Mr. Bevin is reported to have said: "We believed that the more prosperous India's 400,000,000 people were, the more prosperous we should be. We held it to be a great opportunity with our scientific and industrial development here to raise the economic status of that vast country. That is the theme of what I have said this afternoon. Unhappily as I read that passage I had just come from glancing over an official communication from another department of Government, which told a listening public: 'The intensive development and diversification of Indian industries now occurring is expected to

reduce United Kingdom post-war exports to still lower levels. In this clash of Government ideas of the future I am on the side of the Bevins, and I submit that it is time that Ministers and their departments came to some clear-cut conclusions as to future policy and all said the same thing. If Government is to play its part in the mood of depression and defeatism of the document I have just quoted then it were better that we closed the ledger and proceeded to wind up the affairs of the British Empire. Against such wavings of the white flag of surrender I cast my vote.

THE ROYAL NETHERLANDS NAVY AND THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST*

BY VICE-ADMIRAL C E L. HELFRICH, K C B

(Commander in-Chief Netherlands and Netherlands East Indian Forces in the
Far East)

It is with great pleasure that I accepted the invitation to say a few words to the Press on the occasion of this conference.

My contact with the Press of the English-speaking countries has always been most pleasant. I have always been very pleased to see the large amount of space that has been given to the Netherlands and her territories overseas. This is one of the many manifestations of hospitality and friendliness that we Netherlands always experience in the British Commonwealth as well as in the United States of America.

At the same time, we have sufficient self-confidence to realize that we have a right to claim to be treated as good comrades by the English speaking peoples. Holland is a completely loyal ally, who has at all times placed all her resources at the disposal of the general war effort.

Allied warfare brings with it the danger of dispute, for the interests of all the participants are not always the same. That unity, which is so essential, can only be maintained provided the participants know how to make considerations of prestige and self interest subservient to the general cause. In this respect the Netherlands fortunately need not reproach themselves.

We know how terrible is the lot of those in the countries occupied by the enemy—in Europe as well as the Far East. We know that only the greatest possible exertion of our combined forces and complete unity can speed their delivery from the enemy's hands.

On December 18, 1939, I was appointed Commander in-Chief of the Netherlands naval forces in the Netherlands East Indies.

The European Powers with territories in the Far East were of the opinion that the balance of power in the Pacific was determined by the balance of power in Europe. For these reasons the European Powers maintained only small forces there.

Japan speculated on the military weakness of these countries and for decades feverishly prepared herself for war.

The result was that when war broke out in September, 1939, in Europe, only Japan disposed in the Far East of the means for an offensive policy.

* Based on an address to the Naval Press Conference.

In view of Japan's rapacious hunger for raw materials and her territorial ambitions, it appeared to be not unlikely that Japan, taking into account the fact that the war in Europe would preoccupy the Western Powers entirely, would strike at a moment most favourable to herself.

The Netherlands, too, disposed of only small forces in the Far East. But the Netherlands commanders-in-chief made two resolutions

The first resolution was that a Japanese attack would not find them unprepared. The second was that once war had become an established fact it would be waged with the full energy of all the forces at their disposal and in an offensive way

When the Japanese launched their treacherous attacks on Pearl Harbour, Manila and Singapore, the Netherlands immediately declared war upon Japan. The Japanese did not understand this gesture, for they had not yet violated Netherlands territory. But by now we have come to realize that the Japanese do not understand anything of Allied faith.

They can only see their own interests and all their actions serve to further those national interests.

The Netherlands in the Indies understood that it was necessary to view the war in its widest sense and that, in fighting this war, it would be impossible to maintain rigidly the idea of defending their own territory. Dutch submarines were in action immediately in the Gulf of Siam, whilst Netherlands aeroplanes and troops participated on the peninsula of Malacca. The Royal Netherlands Navy took their share in escorting all Allied convoys to Singapore.

On the other hand, when it came to defending our own territories we received the loyal support of the British, Americans and Australians. Unfortunately, help in sufficient quantity could not reach us in time, and so in the battle against Japan the Netherlands East Indies were compelled to succumb temporarily.

We fought, however, until the bitter end, our sailors and soldiers as well as our civilians, so we can continue to hold our heads high.

Our tough, determined resistance delayed the progress of the Japanese until sufficient defensive forces could be accumulated in the neighbouring territories to hold up the Japanese advance. It goes without saying that the Dutch continued the fight when the Netherlands Indies were temporarily lost to the Japanese at the beginning of 1942.

The Dutch had already demonstrated this tough, determined resistance when in 1940 the Netherlands in Europe were occupied by the Germans.

During our fight against the Japs in the Dutch East Indies our air force has performed admirable deeds. I am speaking now of the Dutch Naval Air Force and the Air Force of our Royal Indian Army, of course with the support of American and British Air Forces.

Our Naval Air Force was mainly depending on Catalina flying-boats, excellent reconnaissance planes, but not specially designed for bombing operations and weakly protected against enemy fighters.

After the Japs had succeeded in occupying and establishing several air bases in our territory, their Zero fighters were very active. Reconnaissance got extremely risky for our Catalinas, but their crews took the risks and kept on performing splendidly until the bitter end.

In accordance with our offensive strategy, air attacks on steadily advancing Japanese support bases were often desirable

So our Catalinas made many successful bombing attacks, too, and they had to do this always without fighter protection. But they did it despite dangers and losses

Her Majesty the Queen has awarded the Military William's Order, comparable to the Victoria Cross, to both the Air Forces of our Navy and Indian Army

It proved impossible to produce fighter protection for the Allied striking force under command of the Dutch Rear Admiral Doorman. Every naval expert will realize the great disadvantage thus involved, but we had to row with the oars we had in trying to stem the Japanese advance

I admire greatly the courage and morale of my men to take great risks, especially if these promised to result in inflicting greater damage to the enemy

The Dutch submarine commanders did not hesitate to operate in shallow waters. One of these fine men attacked a Japanese convoy which had just dropped anchor off the coast of Sarawak in British North West Borneo to disembark troops. The water depth was only thirty feet, and the enemy convoy was protected by a cruiser and several destroyers. Nevertheless, he attacked and destroyed three troopships and a tanker. He got away safely with his submarine, but unfortunately he was killed afterwards while supervising a demolition job during the destruction of our naval base at Sourabaya. He got the Military William's Order posthumously

We Dutch are still in the Pacific, doing good work with our warships, planes and merchant navy

In December last year 952 Dutch and Australian guerilla fighters and Portuguese evacuees had to be transported from Japanese-occupied Timor to Australia. As the Japs have strong forces in Timor it was quite a risky job, but a Dutch destroyer did it, according to schedule, making three trips to Timor

We Netherlanders are a seafaring people and we understand that the loss of a piece of territory cannot end a war. As long as the enemy does not dominate the oceans and as long as we have the support of overseas territories and loyal allies, we continue to fight the enemy with all the means at our disposal. The temporary loss, however, of the thickly populated areas of our empire makes it extremely difficult for us to expand our forces. At the moment our navy has been reduced, through losses, to about one third of its original strength

Our light cruisers, destroyers, submarines, gunboats, smaller craft and planes are now serving upon, over and under the seven seas

These ships are 100 per cent Dutch ships, administered by the Netherlands Admiralty, but working under British or American operational command. Co-operation is excellent and British and American Commanders-in-Chief have always been full of appreciation for the spirit and devotion to duty of our commanders, officers, non-commissioned officers and men

Many of the men of our navy and merchant navy are Indonesians who, quite as a matter of course, have remained loyal to Queen and country

You will understand that it is our desire to increase our share in the joint warfare of the Allies, and this we shall do as soon as the liberation of Dutch territories gives us the opportunity

As loyal allies we feel compelled to help with all our might to bring this war to the finish, that is to say, the unconditional surrender of all enemy powers, which implies, at the same time, the liberation of all countries now under the yoke of the Axis

I can be brief with regard to the future of the Pacific war. It goes without saying that I am fully confident and that this confidence never left me, not even when the Netherlands East Indies were temporarily lost. I am not, however, optimistic about the time it will take to force Japan to capitulate. Japan has been able to conquer vast areas, and in this manner she has been able to create more or less controlled safety zones around her.

It will first be necessary to penetrate these zones very deeply before it will be possible to inflict those rapidly following blows at Japan's heart for which we all long so much. These penetrations require a series of amphibious actions of which the success can only be assured when we have local "command of the sea" which means that we have sufficient superiority on and above the sea, sea power and air power, operating in close co-ordination. And the building up of such a force is once again a question of sea transport, its protection and bases.

The distances in the Pacific are enormous. Some of the areas which these forces will have to cover are wild and have never been developed. In many places the climate is unhealthy and enervating. Australia is the only country of industrial significance situated near the war zone.

It goes without saying that in these unfavourable circumstances the advance can only be slow. The progress can, however, be considerably accelerated if the Allies succeed in destroying the Japanese navy and shipping. Japan will, of course, endeavour to delay this as much as possible. Through this destruction the Allies would obtain that freedom of mobility which is necessary to take large convoys through the seas now dominated by Japanese air and sea forces. It would mean that the various Japanese garrisons, cut off from their supplies, could be attacked with large forces. In that case, support on a large scale could be given to China through sea transport and the offensive power of that brave and loyal ally would be enormously increased.

Finally, I should like to remark that during my journeys across the globe this year I have been struck by the favourable manner in which the relations between the different Allies are developing. The realization "united we stand" is gaining ground. This increased feeling of solidarity is by no means superfluous, for the convoy of the free peoples has not yet reached safe port by a long way. I hope that the comradeship, understanding and appreciation which have been born in these times of danger will be maintained until the end of this war and for ever afterwards.

Our Allied convoy will continue to be threatened by storms for a very long time after this war. The International Code of Signals contains the following signal: "Let us stay together so that we may support each other." I hope that this signal will continue to be flown over the ships of state of the United Peoples.

THE BATTLE IN THE JAVA SEA

By JHR J N C. VAN HEURN

(The author was present at the battle)

ONE look at the map of the Dutch East Indies will convince every understanding reader that the defence of Java has been a very difficult task. Once the surrounding islands were lost and Java's air force was beaten down, it became almost hopeless for a very small naval force to prevent any landings on the very long island. The enemy could send transport fleets from Macassar Street, from the Southern China Sea and even swarms of small craft across Sunda Street from Oosthaven.

On February 19 1942, Rear Admiral Doorman had succeeded in smashing at least one of the tentacles that threatened to strangle Java. His night action off Bali had finished and completed the work done by the Army Air Force and the American Fortresses.

But the Japanese could do without their Bali base. In the last week of February the movements of large transport fleets in Macassar Street and in the west were reported.

The question as to what point on the 650 miles of coastline the enemy might choose to land became of decisive importance for the Dutch Army Command. The approaches of several possible landing places were mined by the Navy. Nevertheless, there were enough suitable landing-places left to make any planning of troop movements mere guesswork.

The Dutch East Indies Government had its offices in Batavia. The Army headquarters were in high and cool Bandung. When things began to look critical the Government moved also to Bandung. For these reasons the centre of gravity of Java's defence might have lain in the western part of the island. The more so because in Bandung were the very few munition factories which Java possessed. Bandung was surrounded by mountains and was certainly the most suitable defence position on the island. On the other hand, in the east were the naval base Surabaya and the oil town Tjepu. Both had to be held as long as the Navy operated from Java.

It was clear that whatever the size of Java's army might have been it was almost inevitable that she was split into two widely separated parts.

One can understand how important it became for the Naval Command to attack the eastern landing forces and to bring relief to the weak eastern wing of the defending army. A naval battle near the landing places might delay the landing operations, while also sufficient evidence was obtained as to the exact landing place. The Army Command might have an opportunity to concentrate in time at the right place.

Admiral Helfferich concentrated his striking force in blazing hot and bomb-shaken Surabaya. At the time the force consisted of five cruisers (the Dutch *De Ruyter* and *Java*, the British *HMS Exeter*, the Australian *HMAS Perth* and the American *USS Houston*), together with nine destroyers (*HMS Encounter*, *Electra*, *Isister*, *Hr. Ms. Witte de With* and *Kortenaer* and *USS Edwards*, *Alden Ford*, *Paul Jones*).

The Dutch Naval Air Force made strenuous efforts to locate the already moving enemy transports. This proved to be almost impossible. After the heavy losses of the preceding weeks the Dutch Dorniers and Catalinas faced a daily increasing air strength of the enemy. Reconnaissance became certain suicide. Without hesitation the crews took off but there were no replacements. incessant bombing of aerodromes had in the meantime almost worn down Java's Army Air Force which had already suffered such heavy losses in Malacca and in Macassar Street. The at one time far seeing eyes of Java became blinded.

Admiral Helfferich had now moved to Bandung. From there he gave Rear Admiral Doorman orders to make nightly sweeps along the north coast of Madura.

The greater part of the Allied Striking Force sailed together for the first time though most of the ships had sailed under Doorman's command before. It might have been difficult for such a mixed force to co-operate efficiently but, while Doorman's task was definitely not easy, it might perhaps be called simple. For he simply

had to attack. He had to take up position somewhere near Surabaya until he received sufficient evidence of the whereabouts of the enemy fleets. Then he intended to stage another night battle, similar to the night attack off Bali, at the moment when the enemy covering force was handicapped by the landing operations and could not leave the transports alone.

The successful timing of his attack depended largely on sufficient air reconnaissance.

The first night sweep north of Madura brought no results. Reports were, however, received that the enemy fleet had entered the Java Sea and was moving westward close to the coast of Borneo. The Allied Striking Force returned to Surabaya to refuel. As so often before this day too, Surabaya was heavily bombed. The main targets were, of course, the harbour and the naval yard; it seemed a miracle that none of the essential fighting ships were hit.

At dusk on Thursday, February 26, the Allied force left Surabaya for the last time. When in the fairways the ships passed each other at a few yards' distance to take up their positions in the line, cheers burst from the crowded decks. Thousands of officers and men from all parts of the world shouted their wishes to their Allied comrades before going into battle—their first and last battle together for the common cause. They all knew what the odds were, and they did not in the least expect a resounding naval victory. On the contrary, they knew that a sacrifice was asked from them, a sacrifice that might enable the defenders of Java to make a successful stand and to keep up a long resistance. Time had to be won. To have a foothold in Java might prove of priceless value later in the conflict.

In clear moonlight the Allied force cruised at high speed north of Madura. But again no reports about the enemy were received. Instead of returning to Surabaya at dawn Rear Admiral Doorman steamed farther west, hoping eagerly for air reconnaissance reports. Japanese planes in the morning dropped a few bombs. Exertion and lack of sleep began to weigh heavily on everyone. During the last weeks most of the crews had been almost continuously at their action stations during the night and undergone seemingly endless air attacks during the daytime.

At noon Admiral Doorman gave the order to return to Surabaya. The high expectations of the crews threatened to end in an anticlimax.

The striking force was already entering the roads in the minefields that close the gap between Madura and Java when at last reports came in. Enemy transport fleets had been sighted west and north west of the island Bawean. They were already moving southward. The total number of transports was forty-five. The number and the position of the enemy warships was however not clear but it was evident that there must be several covering squadrons. Doorman turned his force around in the narrow channel through the minefields. Soon the Allied Squadron headed north west.

That the Allied Air Force was almost totally beaten down did not, however, imply that the Japanese were just as ignorant about Doorman's movements as he was about theirs. When Doorman's about turn was reported they probably concentrated their forces, sent their transports back to the north, and steamed full speed south-eastward to meet Doorman's force.

At about 16.00 (Java time) enemy ships were sighted by the *De Ruyter*. Very soon afterwards the enemy's overwhelming force and his superior fire-power became clear. About eight cruisers, among which two Nats (8-inch), Mogamis (6-inch), and several lighter cruisers screened by thirteen destroyers became visible.

Fire was immediately opened at very long range between two running lines on a westward course. The Allied destroyers steamed parallel to the cruisers on the port side of the cruiser line. *De Ruyter* and H.M.S. *Exeter* were soon under very heavy fire from two or more enemy cruisers while the other cruisers only had to cope with one opponent. Around the *De Ruyter* one could see the rising water columns of nine-, twelve- or fifteen-gun salvos. The Japanese fire was rather accurate, but at this extremely long range of more than ten miles the Allied ships at first suffered no damage.

After a quarter of an hour the enemy was seen to put up smoke screens. This could only prove that the Allied fire had been successful. Doorman tried to shorten the range and close in on the enemy by a sharp turn to starboard.

Now the range became much shorter, and suddenly a heavy black pall of smoke was seen to rise in the enemy line. One enemy ship was hit and burned fiercely.

The Allied force had not a very long time to enjoy this success. Soon afterwards the first Allied ship, H.M.S. *Exeter* was hit. Smoke and steam poured suddenly out of both her funnels. An 8-inch shell had hit the main steam supply in the boiler room. It was a very unlucky hit. Twenty-two of her men were killed. She lost speed and had to drop out of the line. She turned to port. The other cruisers steamed only a little farther ahead and then also turned to port to cover H.M.S. *Exeter*. The ship was too valuable to leave behind and at the same time too important for the others to continue the battle without her. U.S.S. *Houston* was now the only 8-inch cruiser left. Unfortunately, she had only two of her three turrets in working order, the third having been hit by a bomb a few weeks before.

The Dutch destroyer *Kortenaer* had orders to escort the first damaged cruiser, but when she turned the *Kortenaer* was torpedoed. The ship broke and sank within thirty seconds. The time was now 5.20 p.m., and the battle had already raged for over an hour. When the *Kortenaer* was sunk, torpedoes were seen by several other destroyers. It seemed that the Allied force had run into an enemy submarine line which covered the landing area against attacks from the east.

Doorman turned his force to the south. The Japanese now launched a destroyer attack. Between smoke screens the Allied destroyers counter attacked and a fierce and confused destroyer battle developed. Here H.M.S. *Electra* was lost. Survivors from the *Kortenaer* watched the Japanese destroyers attack. From their rafts they saw two Japanese destroyers blow up and sink, and they even thought that a third destroyer was lost. Anyhow the Japanese did not succeed in pressing home their attack against the cruisers.

Doorman steamed southwards while at the same time H.M.S. *Exeter* escorted by the *Witte de With* limped at a few miles' speed to the south-east in the direction of Surabaya. One stray Japanese destroyer broke through and tried to attack H.M.S. *Exeter*. She was driven back by the *Witte de With* who intercepted her. The first salvo of the *Witte de With* scored hits and the Japanese destroyer turned away.

Doorman was successful in his withdrawal southward. He closed in on the Java shore and then changed his course to west. Here H.M.S. *Jupiter* was suddenly torpedoed by a submarine, many survivors reaching the nearby coast of Java.

It was already night, but darkness had not come. The full tropical moon made visibility almost as good as in daylight. Any ship could be seen miles and miles away.

The Allied destroyers had launched their torpedoes and were running short of fuel. At least, they had not sufficient fuel left to fight their way at high speed westwards to Tandjong Priok. They were ordered back to Surabaya.

Now Doorman turned his four cruisers again north in a last attempt to reach the transport fleets. It was too dangerous to go into Surabaya harbour, they might find themselves bottled up there the next morning by a superior force and bombed to pieces from the air. Moving to the east in an effort to escape from the Java Sea would only bring an encounter with another strong force, perhaps even capital ships, while there was no chance of attacking any transports. The only target that was still worth a last sacrifice were these transports. To reach them by evading the covering force during the night called for a last all-out effort.

The clear moonlight made it, however, possible for Japanese planes to shadow the four cruisers. Almost incessantly small flares were dropped overhead, these flares could be seen scores of miles away. Any Japanese force received warnings about his approach long before Doorman could guess that an enemy was in the neighbourhood.

Steaming a north-westerly course at high speed, Doorman's ships passed unexpectantly through a swarm of rafts with survivors of the *Kortenaer*. This is what an eyewitness on the rafts said:

A silhouette, rapidly growing in size loomed up to the south. It changed gradually from greyish black to silvery grey. Thanks to the bright moonlight, it soon took shape. The ship was moving at exceedingly high speed, there was no doubt about that. Suddenly we all recognized her as the *De Ruyter*.

Soon we spotted the other cruisers—*Houston*, *Perth* and *Java*—following behind.

the flagship as resolutely as ever. The *Exeter* had dropped out and not a single destroyer was to be seen. From the stars I could see that their course was due north-north west. Once more they were on their way to engage the enemy. Suddenly I became acutely aware that I looked for the last time at these ships. This must be their voyage of death. It was not a very reasoned thought, but later it proved to be only too true.

It was an unforgettable sight, those beautiful cruisers at full speed glittering with the silvery light of the moon—the Dutchman, the American, the Australian, and another Dutchman. They were coming straight at us and nearly passed over our heads. The rafts turned over and over, but even all the sea water we swallowed could not drown our shouts. We saw the men running on deck. They passed us at such close range that the first three sped past us on one side and the *Java* on the other. I even thought I could recognize a friend standing near his Bofors guns on the *Java*'s deck.

Then all was over. The wake of the *Java* made us turn another somersault. When I was able to see again the line of cruisers had merged once more into a black mass at the horizon. We did not have to look at the stars to know that in that same direction must be the enemy.

One of the cruisers had thrown a large flare, and the *Kortenaer*'s survivors were rescued later on by H.M.S. *Encounter*, who guided by this light came and picked them up.

Doorman put all the power that was left in him in a last bold stroke. He could only hope that it might land at the right place. However, it did not.

One hour after midnight he was intercepted by a strong force of cruisers and destroyers. It is probable that the enemy had even received reinforcements since the afternoon.

Dutch submarines were in the neighbourhood. They even saw the Japanese cruiser line, but the speed of the now developing battle put them very soon out of range.

Fire was opened once more. The moonlight made a battle at five miles range possible. The crushing superiority of the enemy's fire power was soon felt. It is reported that the *De Ruyter* received early hits but as yet no decisive damage was done. Suddenly the *De Ruyter* and *Java* were almost at the same moment shaken by explosions. Both seemed to be hit by torpedoes and sank quickly. *Houston* and *Perth* succeeded in breaking off the engagement and decided to make their way to Batavia. They reached Tandjong Priok the next morning (Saturday February 28). They left immediately after refuelling but did not succeed in breaking out into the Indian Ocean. The Java Sea was sealed already by powerful enemy cruiser squadrons.

On Sunday H.M.S. *Exeter* after the most urgent repairs had been made, also left to make an attempt to escape. She was accompanied by H.M.S. *Encounter* and U.S.S. *Pope*. At forenoon already she reported three enemy cruisers. Nothing was heard of her thereafter. The short message speaks for itself.

The Java Sea had become a Japanese sea. Huge Japanese transport fleets moved southwards and at three points of Java's coast strong enemy forces were landed. After a few days the Dutch army had to fight without air support against an enemy that was everywhere at least five times stronger. As the Navy had done before the Army could do only one thing—that was to show that it perhaps lacked many things, and that it certainly was short of almost everything except courage.

JAPANESE RELIGIOUS POLICY

BY H H VAN WITZENBURG

ANYONE who does not agree with the Japanese way of thinking must be exterminated. Ideas that are not in accordance with our Tenno-idea are intolerable either within or outside our country's frontiers.

These words were spoken by the Japanese Vice-Minister of Propaganda Okumura shortly after the occupation of the Netherlands Indies and he added that anyone offering resistance would be driven out by force.

The Japanese weekly *Shincho* has emphasized this declaration by stating:

Against the Anglo-Saxon idea of individual liberty Japan must place the ideal of her Tenno-idea.

The interpretation which, particularly in the years just before the war, the Japanese have given to the Tenno-idea clearly shows that this is not only a guide to the worldly power of the Mikado but also to his religious authority. For a long time there has been a strong tendency in Japan to assign to the Emperor all religious authority. A general aim is even evident in Japan to incorporate the Christian religions, including the Roman Catholic religion, in a new Christian structure, the practice of which is to be brought into conformity with the Japanese national thought, which is a modified definition of the Tenno-idea. In this new Christian structure the Emperor would occupy a position similar to that of the Pope in the Catholic Church.

Anyone reading these two quotations in the light of this tendency in the Japanese avowal of faith will understand that there is considerable disquiet in Catholic and Protestant mission circles in the Far East. This is evident from a report in the Swedish paper *Svenska Morgenbladet* of March 22, which states that according to information received from the Netherlands Indies missionary activities are being carried on by friends of Kagawa, the well known leader of the Japanese Christians. The latter has undertaken the responsibility for the Catholic and Protestant missions on the islands.

The question now arises whether Japan will make Shintoism the state religion of the subjugated peoples. The Japanese State concludes the report is, from a religious point of view, linked with the divine person of the Emperor.

The disquiet which prevails in Christian circles with regard to Japan's religious principles must undoubtedly be shared by the Muhammadans in spite of all pacifying statements made by highly placed Japanese statesmen on this subject. The Tenno-idea permeates Japanese life and there is no reason to suppose that in governing the occupied territories the Japanese will suddenly abandon it.

However propaganda for the Tenno-idea will have to be gradual. The Japanese realize the importance of law and order for consolidating the conquered positions and thus for the continuation of the war against the Allies. The Koran is still law for the more than 100 million Muhammadans in the occupied territories now under the heel of the Japanese. Whoever interferes with the Koran will soon learn that he has unleashed forces which once they have been set in motion cannot be stemmed or diverted, not even with the bayonet, the strongest weapon in Japanese hands.

The Japanese are no masters in the art of persuasion. They have certainly acquired great proficiency in the handling of arms, but if they rely on this they will soon learn to their cost that they cannot keep in check populations of millions of people once they have been whipped up into religious fanaticism.

It would be a cardinal error to underestimate the Japanese in this respect. It must not be supposed that they do not realize to the full the great dangers attached to every interference in the Muhammadan religious sphere. Therefore their repeated assurances to the Indonesians that they can rely on absolute freedom of religion need create no surprise. On the contrary, it would have been surprising and the height of stupidity if the Japanese had omitted such declarations.

For under Netherland rule there was absolute religious freedom. The Japanese

could not promise less than that. Only their monotonous repetition of the same solemn assurance creates doubt about their real intentions.

The Japanese are playing a crafty game in the Far East. To their oft-repeated assurances of religious freedom they always append the declaration that this did not exist under the Anglo-Saxons and the Dutch. As in many other fields, the line they follow is not definitely straight. Sometimes, fortunately, it shows sharp deviations, enabling us to form a general idea of their real intentions.

Among these must be counted, in the first place, a broadcast from Radio Batavia on religion and culture, in which it was stated that it is the Japanese intention as far as the Southern regions are concerned to elevate religion and culture by means of Oriental culture in general and Japanese culture in particular. The stamp of Japanese culture—that is, of course, the Tenno-idea—is therefore to be imprinted on the Muhammadan and other religions in the Far East.

Further, at about the same time the Indonesians were advised, also via Radio Batavia, to remain faithful to Muhammadanism as the one and only religion. A Muhammadan library was established at Batavia where twenty persons were put to the task of studying the history of Muhammadan culture on Java. Especially the Italian propaganda centre—even more so than the German—was greatly impressed by this and declared that the opening of this library was the clearest proof of the religious freedom existing under Japanese rule. Evidently this was done to remove the unfavourable impression which the monotonously repeated Japanese assurances on the subject had made on the rest of the world.

For, instead of confining themselves to a single official announcement broadcasters in Japan and the occupied countries vied with each other to convince the world of Japan's toleration. It became too much of a good thing.

A discord in the orchestra of this Axis propaganda came from the so-called Free India Radio which on July 2 sent out an address by a famous Muhammadan theologian in which the latter, on the basis of numerous texts and pronouncements of the Koran incited his listeners to fight for right and justice and the liberation of the Muhammadan countries from all oppressors but particularly to fight against foreign aggression. It is true that his address was directed against British policy in India, but as the speaker made no specific distinction his attack against foreign aggression might apply equally to Japan's treacherous attack on the Netherlands Indies, Malay and the Philippines.

On August 1, 1942, Tokyo announced that tribute had been paid to native religious customs by the fixture of official holidays, including the Islamic New Year, the birthday of Muhammad, Ashura, Garebeg, Mulaud, etc. Anyone familiar with the subject knows that all these holidays had long existed under Netherland rule, but in the usual way they were presented as something entirely new.

More recently—i.e. some months ago—Tojo the Japanese Premier found it necessary to attempt to refute British reports by once again announcing absolute freedom of religion, now presented as having its roots in the Japanese Constitution. Further the Japanese military administration arranged a four-day conference at Batavia of Muhammadans from all parts of Java. This conference, which was to start on September 4, was to be followed by the customary thirty-days fast.

It is remarkable that no further details of this conference have been given by Tokyo. Loud propaganda trumpets announced that the *Lebaran*, the end of the Muhammadan month of fasting on October 12, had been recognized by the Japanese. They had apparently quite overlooked that they had already given this recognition when they compiled the list of official religious holidays. This recognition too, means nothing but the continuation of what has existed as long as living memory goes back. The only difference was that, whereas the Dutch allowed two holidays the Japanese granted only one, to the regret, no doubt, of the Indonesian population, who, like any other people, like a day off.

To sweeten the bitter pill and to stimulate enthusiasm for the New Order, the Japanese arranged on that day public concerts of military music, special bus services, etc. And apparently to their own surprise the Indonesians flocked together from far and near in colourful dresses and high spirits. A holiday like *Lebaran* is celebrated by all Indonesians in high spirits, for if there is an opportunity for strolling

about they lose no time in dressing up. Nothing in this justifies the conclusion that they have suddenly begun to burn with enthusiasm for the Japanese and their co-prosperity sphere.

At the end of November a declaration was sent out by the Axis radio stations, including those of Germany and Italy, that Japan would refrain from molesting vessels carrying pilgrims to Mecca. To this guarantee three conditions were attached:

- 1 The Japanese Government were to be notified of the date, route and final destination of the vessels

- 2 The vessels, crews and passengers had to refrain from all acts connected with military and political matters.

- 3 The vessels had to be used exclusively for the transport of pilgrims

In paying tribute to the generosity of Japan, Axis broadcasters carefully avoided to mention that the guarantee was far too late to enable the pilgrims in the Netherlands Indies to be in Mecca at the appointed time in December. In this way Japan gained a whole year, and as was almost to be expected she has now started to announce that the coming *hadj* will be sabotaged by the British. The intention of course is to make it plausible for Japan herself to prohibit the pilgrimage under this mendacious and utterly fantastic pretext, posing as 'the protector of the Indonesians against the terrorist attitude of the Anglo-Saxons and their allies.

With this too obvious game the Japanese will not be able to mislead the Indonesians.

Another typical example of Japan's wavering policy is provided by the fact that the commander-in-chief of the Japanese forces General Imamura at the beginning of December 1942, for the umpteenth time promised freedom of religion. Apparently the Indonesians were still doubtful of Japanese toleration or they had it brought home to them that Japan's words were not translated into deeds. In any case Imamura convened a conference of thirty-three Muhammadan leaders of Java including Hadji Ali Mansur, the well-known leader of the large Mohamadijah Society and a man of high integrity.

In the peculiar language of the Japanese radio it was stated that Imamura was aided by Mansur to create the impression that this prominent Muhammadan had gone over to the side of the Japanese. To strengthen this impression the following words were attributed to Hadji Mansur:

Muhammadanism will be protected and native religious customs will likewise be respected and recognized. No interference will be attempted with purely religious matters.

By way of explanation it should be mentioned that the Mohamadijah Society is doing excellent work in the social and educational field. It has founded numerous schools and clinics for the poor. Hadji Ali Mansur was always loyal to the Netherlands administration and the obvious conclusion is that, in order to enable the Society to continue its work, he has submitted to Japanese instructions against his will. A man of such high moral standing as Mansur would not condone the brutal aggression of the Japanese. He has the existence of his Society at heart. Mohamadijah is his life.

Numerous examples could be quoted from Japanese propaganda which throw a dubious light on the general line followed by the field of religion. It becomes increasingly clear that the whole aim of the Japanese is directed towards the unification of the various religious tendencies and societies, not only the Muhammadan but also the Christian and Buddhist societies. When once this process of amalgamation has been completed and the various religious tendencies and institutions have been brought under one central direction it will, of course, be easy for the Japanese not only to control them, but also to promote the penetration of the Tenno-idea.

On Celebes the Christian unification has to a considerable extent been completed. According to Japanese reports, a federation has come into existence comprising "Christian institutions of more than ten different sects which have more than 2,000 churches. These Christian sects, according to the Japanese radio on March 22, 1943, "served as political instruments of the United States and Great Britain." The

founding of the federation is referred to as a development in line with the course of the war in East Asia.

In Hongkong the eighteen existing Protestant Christian sects—according to the Japanese—have been united in a Hoongkong Christian General Church to facilitate—the motive should be well noted—closer collaboration with the Japanese Christian organizations.

That these organizations themselves are under war conditions, more strongly influenced by the mighty military clique in Japan than in normal times is, of course, obvious.

It is, indeed, comparatively easy to effect the process of unification as far as the Christian churches and institutions are concerned because they cover only a small field compared with that of Muhammadanism. Similarly easy is the unification of the Buddhist societies, particularly in the Netherlands Indies, where Buddhism had only a minor influence. But outside the Southern territories, as in China, Japan is also busy creating order. According to a radio message from Tokyo of May 12, 1943, they have established the Central Buddhist Council for East Asia in Shanghai. The purpose of the Council is—

To unify the various Buddhist sects of China to enable them to play their part in the prosecution of the war and to give them an opportunity of developing their Buddhist principles and charity.

Chairman of this Council is—a Japanese!

On May 29 it was intended to hold another meeting in Tokyo this time of young Buddhist citizens of Greater East Asia under the auspices of the Federation of Young Buddhists in Japan with the intention of co-operation in the prosecution of the war. It is noticeable that in both cases the first point on the programme is the prosecution of the war. This acquires a deeper meaning through a later disclosure of Radio Tokyo—viz. that the conference of young Buddhists is specially sponsored by the Japanese Ministries of War and Naval Affairs. The conference was to be attended by representatives of the Dutch East Indies and other territories occupied by Japan.

All this clearly proves Japan's aim to make the various religious currents in the occupied territories subservient to the prosecution of the war—to make them a political instrument the very thing for which they unjustly blamed the Anglo-Saxon and Dutch Governments. This aim is entirely in the line of Shintoism and the Tenno-idea.

With regard to Muhammadanism especially Japan does not mince matters. When announcing various Muhammadan assemblies on Celebes and elsewhere it was declared that these served to discuss ways and means for co-operating with the Japanese forces for the prosecution of the war. Not a word was said about religious discussions. Probably Japan considers that the subjugation of Muhammadanism to her war aims has made sufficient progress or else she realizes that it is no use trying to lead the outside world astray by telling lies. We may take it for granted that the above mentioned meetings are enforced and organized by the Japanese.

The same applies to the conference of the representatives of ten million Muhammadans of Malaya and Sumatra held at Singapore early in April of this year. This conference too which should have been held in a religious spirit, was characterized by many military parades and ended in resolutions promising co-operation with Japan in order to carry on the war. In the end the Muhammadan representatives were forced to pay homage to the monument erected in memory of the Japanese soldiers who fell in the battle for Singapore.

Once or twice Tokyo radio for a change announced resolutions to co-operate in building a co-prosperity sphere. It goes without saying that after all this phrase just means co-operation in the prosecution of the war.

Eventually Tokyo threw off the mask entirely in a broadcast on April 29 when announcing a huge meeting in Medan for May 8. In order to give the affair a religious air they spoke of a Muhammadan assembly not an Indonesian (a word the Japanese are very fond of). The assembly was held under the title 'Crush Britain and America Rally' to reflect the opinion of ten million Muhammadans in Malaya and Sumatra. Forward in their statements, as the Japanese are apt to be, they knew

on April 29 that on May 8 a resolution would be adopted voicing the firm aim to co-operate with Japan, while at the same time prayers would be said for the overthrow of England and America and the successful continuation of the war of Great Asia

Japanese instigation in the phrasing of resolution as well as prayers is clearly perceptible

We are justified in asking how long the Japanese will be able to induce the Indonesians to help their war effort. It seems difficult to imagine that the Indonesians will do so willingly and without complaints

In this connection we are reminded of two great Indonesian leaders. In the first place, of Dr Soetomo whose last advice to the people of Indonesia given shortly before his death was 'Beware of the Japanese!'

In the second place, we think of Dr Tjipto Mangoen Koesoema one of the most aggressive opponents of the Dutch administration who at the outbreak of the Pacific war ended an urgent appeal to his countrymen and the Chinese inhabitants of Indonesia to back the Dutch Government to a man with the following words 'And now with Allah into the war!'

FARTHER INDIA

By L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS

THE cultural links between India and the countries now known as Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Malaya and Indonesia have for long been recognized as both important and intimate. Politically the connection is less clear despite the evidence of history. We know that Indian dynasties ruled over powerful and highly civilized kingdoms whose memorials in stone have been recovered almost within living memory from the engulfing jungle. We know also that commercial ties of some intimacy persisted between the mainland of India and her colonies (to employ a question-begging term for lack of something better) in Indonesia and elsewhere. What we do not know is whether any political connection existed apart from an occasional trade agreement.

If we were to apply to these overseas settlements the analogy of contemporary Indian practice inside the homeland itself we should find some grounds for believing that no such political tie existed. For whenever a Kshatriya Prince migrated from his ancestral soil he was always at pains to establish his complete independence from the *raja* under which he had been nurtured. Indeed the history of India is full of the internecine wars of parent and offshoot states which are illustrated in highly typical shape from the unusually detailed material preserved by the various branches of the Rathor clans. The closer the blood tie the greater the pride in common ancestry the more fixed was the determination to resist all semblance of political subordination. In view of this consideration it would appear on the face of it, unlikely that the settlements of Indian nationals overseas regarded themselves as any thing except independent kingdoms. Nor does it seem probable that there existed in India any such tradition of maritime imperialism as would have led to the forcible subordination of these overseas settlements to a metropolitan authority. Thus while Indian ships sailed the seas and a flourishing commerce obtained for many centuries, the Indian Ocean never witnessed the establishment by an Indian Power of the sort of empire based upon maritime supremacy of which Western history provides so many striking examples.

I am at some pains to make this point clear because I am sure that the case for basing upon India what may be called the security arrangements upon which any post-war settlement for South East Asia ultimately depend is strong enough to dispense with any historical precedent. And I advise anyone who wishes to find out

the sort of shape which a post war settlement in these latitudes *ought* to take, to make a point of studying Mr K. M. Panikkar's latest book * With the penetration which characterizes all his writings he sets himself the task of determining exactly why

Farther India was subjugated so quickly by the Japanese, and of suggesting the precautions which must be taken if strong polities, able to defend themselves against aggression are to arise in this all important corner of the globe. Mr Panikkar has followed previous writers in the finding that the divorce of interests and of sympathy whether real or apparent, between rulers and ruled was the fundamental cause of Japan's quick success, but unlike them he proceeds to give real content to a generalization which at first sight looks all too facile. For the fact is that a great many of the ruled *did* fight upon the side of the rulers whatever the extent and seriousness of their discontents, they certainly did not want to become part of the so-called Co-Prosperity Sphere. That there were in all these countries partisans of Japan is unquestionable, but it would be difficult, I think, to find anywhere any substantial body of opinion which welcomed the Japanese for the sake of their *bonsai yeux*. They were regarded as an instrument and only as an instrument, by which their supporters hoped themselves to attain an authority of which the first exercise would be to expel the forces of Nippon. No the true cause of Japanese success is to be found less in the passivity, or hostility to Europe or pro-Japanese feeling—all three terms have been used indiscriminately by many writers—of the indigenous inhabitants than in the sheer impotence of these inhabitants to affect the military issue. This impotence may in part have proceeded at least in some places, from the mistakes of a régime essentially organized for peace and not for war which proved incapable of adapting itself with sufficient speed to the staggering *bouleversement* of every accepted strategic lay-out which inevitably followed upon the occupation of French Indo-China and the temporary elimination of American sea power at Pearl Harbour. But only in part. The real explanation lies in the indisputable fact that no territory organized on colonial lines no small Power like Thailand no country in the transitional stage of politics or economics can command the local resources particularly in the way of heavy industry that total war necessitates. Thailand and the Philippines despite the political independence of their peoples, presented no more formidable obstacle to Japanese arms than did Burma or the Netherlands East Indies. In each case the will to resist was unquestionably present and was in many instances displayed by deeds of great if hopeless gallantry. It was the means to resist that were lacking.

It is one of the great merits of Mr Panikkar's book that he keeps a fair balance between the moral and the material factors both in his analysis of the past and in his synthesis of the future. Ultimately the two factors meet in one common conclusion—namely that the colonial system for all its merits as a transitional régime and as a stimulator (*volens volens*) of nationalism is as dead as Queen Anne at least in the economic sphere. In the political sphere granted the right change of emphasis—of which there is already healthy evidence in Britain and elsewhere—it has probably a useful service to perform in supplying the trained experience of which the demand is certain to outrun the supply in the post war world. Indeed one of the greatest practical obstacles to clear thinking about the future is the failure particularly noticeable in the case of American planners, to distinguish between the political tutelage of the European Powers in South East Asia and the economic system with which that tutelage has, for the most part fortuitously been accompanied. This confusion has been responsible for some rather impracticable suggestions relative to international control (as distinguished from international interest and international co-ordination of high policy) of territories whose inhabitants would according to the best evidence at present available deeply resent any such juggling with their destinies. With all such plans Mr Panikkar deals in a spirit of practical statesmanship.

In treating of the fundamentals of post war security, Mr Panikkar wisely distinguishes between sea-power and land power. Despite the historical precedents, the dubiety of which I have illustrated he believes that India's contribution will be mainly exercised by land. I am sure he is right here, just as I feel that he is right in recognizing the importance of India as a base for the sea power of the United Nations rather

* K. M. Panikkar, *The Future of South-East Asia* (Allen and Unwin.) 5s net.

than as a maritime factor of prime rank in her own right. He stresses the importance of close relations with China, whose interest in the entire area under survey, in view of the great economic and political interests of her nationals, is very great, he justly emphasizes the identity of interests between a Free China and a Free India, and the virtual dependence of one upon the other for the safeguarding of vital strategic arteries. Similarly, the security of South East Asia demands an equally close understanding between India and Indonesia, whose maritime power will supplement, for the protection of the entire area the land forces of which India will be able to dispose.

A bird's-eye view of the political pattern suggested by Mr Panikkar would envisage, in effect, an inner and an outer circle. On the periphery would stand Britain and America linked with each other with China with India and with the Netherlands-Indonesia partnership. Within, there would be even closer and more direct ties between India and Indonesia, and at the very heart of things a solid group consisting of a duplex India—Hindustan and Pakistan—bound by treaty to an autonomous Burma. This tripartite group, in effect seems a logical necessity if the tangle of interests is to be sorted out but I can foresee that it will be among the most heavily criticized of the many controversial arrangements projected in the book.

I should like to be able to follow the author in the details of his set up for South East Asia, in his wise remarks upon the abiding danger of the gratuitous Asia *versus* Europe complex and upon the rôle which the Powers of Europe including France, still have to play. But I am not prepared to re-state the author's conclusions. They must be studied in his own words and it is no part of my purpose to write a Child's Guide to a book which ought to be 'chewed and digested' by every serious student of Eastern affairs.

INDIA RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

By H J FELS

THE appointment of a new Viceroy has already revived Indian demands for a resumption of earlier efforts to negotiate an agreement concerning India's future form of government with the spokesmen of the principal party organizations in that country. Mr Rajagopalachari has hastened to express his conviction that the royal road to a settlement of the Indian problem is to restart negotiations from where they stopped in April last year and that a supreme effort should be made, for the sake of international fellowship to continue what Sir Stafford Cripps thought at that time to be a fruitless endeavour. The aim is commendable but the underlying suggestion—i.e. that the intervening period has witnessed any fundamental change in the inherent antipathy of Mr Gandhi and his colleagues to India's active collaboration with the United Nations in overcoming totalitarian aggression and tyranny—is in direct conflict with all the available evidence and is therefore unlikely to command acceptance in authoritative quarters either in the United Kingdom or the United States.

During the last eighteen months fortunately American politicians and publicists have acquired a closer knowledge and understanding of the essential elements of the Indian situation than in the preceding eighteen years. After all, as Mr Herbert Matthews, the special correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote in a recent despatch summing up the impressions gathered during a year's visit to India, the history of India for Americans began with the Cripps Mission. We discovered India hardly more than a year ago. In New York at that time one was indoctrinated mainly with the Congress picture which "showed all India, from eminent scholars

and big industrialists down to the poorest peasants in a village, fiercely demanding independence and determined and eager to kick the British out. The British were faithless, hopeless, charityless imperialists whose only object in India was to squeeze out her lifeblood and incidentally to rule by dividing the Hindus and Muslims.

The reality, as the famous American correspondent discovered during his patient and prolonged investigations in India itself, was very different from the Congress version. In his own words

Gradually the kaleidoscope began to take on a vague pattern which did not conform to any of the pictures that had been so confidently presented. The Congress picture weakened with dismayingly rapidity for one who wanted to believe in it, and in the course of time an overwhelming mass of evidence was built up showing that the Congress claim to represent India was not true or fair. The vast majority of Muslims were against them. The peasants had no political consciousness, and where they had voted for the Congress they did so because of the religious value of Gandhi's magic name plus the power of the organization and much money supplied by rich Hindu banias and industrialists, and the support was not nearly so extensive as the Congressites claimed. There are great stretches of India where Gandhi has never been and where his name is virtually unknown—at least nine out of ten politically conscious Muslims in British India are with the Muslim League.

India's tragedy is only too clear. It lies in the inability of the Indians to get together in the effort of the Congress to get totalitarian control in communal politics, in the opprobrium cast upon those who walk the middle way. Brilliant minds and characters like Rajagopalachari, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Mirza Ismail and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer have no popular following and indeed are constant targets for criticism because they are liberals seeking a compromise amid the mass of communal and sectional politicians who know no such word as compromise.

But how can Indians get together? How can a nation be made where none has existed before where language, race, religion and culture are as mixed as on the European Continent? What form of government has the modern world evolved which suits such a situation?

It may well be that the link between Britain and India which initially was mainly economic will ultimately revert to that basis. Meanwhile it is certainly an advantage from every point of view, that American opinion has begun to realise that even after one hundred and fifty years of British rule—directed unceasingly to welding India into one administrative, economic and political unit—national unity remains a dream is not yet a solid reality. Sooner or later we must continue to hope Indian nationalism as the child of the British Raj will also become its heir but how soon—as informed Americans are increasingly conscious—depends on Indian statesmanship rather than British. Pending that desirable consummation—which awaits agreement concerning the distribution rather than the transfer of political power—we are entitled in America as elsewhere to recall some of Britain's unchallengeable contributions to India's advancement in many fields. Let us remind ourselves as well as our American and other allies that as the outcome of our trusteeship and guidance India will embark on self government possessing an administrative system of unsurpassed efficiency, parliamentary forms of government, power industries which rank India among the first eight industrial countries of the world, an external trade surpassed in volume and value by only five other countries and an internal trade many times larger, a public debt almost wholly productive, representing investments in public utilities almost entirely State-owned, and at least the nuclei of scientific agriculture only requiring till development by Indian Governments and Parliaments to ensure a happy and prosperous peasantry.

As close analysis will prove the four main streams of Indian development—educational, political, social and economic—are, in effect, tributaries of the Thames, not of the Ganges. The ideas and ideals, the economic and constitutional equipment

and technique on which the Indian independence movement feeds and flourishes are all imported—all British. The Legislatures which seek to exercise the power heretofore vested in the Mother of Parliaments are based on the Westminster model which they rank as sacrosanct. The industries which are displacing British manufactures are utilizing British machinery and for the most part were launched by British pioneers using British capital. Pre British India did not possess a Parliament, a newspaper Press, or even a printing plant. In India we were the pioneers of the industrial revolution as well as of political freedom. In each sphere our contribution has been fundamental and will endure.

It will be Lord Wavell's first aim, while missing no opportunity to promote India's further political progress, to maintain these past achievements intact. His second aim, inseparable from the first, will be to carry forward the full mobilization of India's resources essential to secure, in conjunction with the other units in the United Nations group, the final and complete annihilation of Japanese imperialism. There is no reason to assume that the Congress Party as now led would prove to be reliable allies in the furtherance of either of these two vital objectives. A political organization which, in relation to domestic politics is professedly unconstitutional in its methods, and in relation to international affairs is professedly pacifist, has no useful function to perform in India until victory has been achieved. The collective resignation of the Congress Ministries in 1939 as a protest against the Viceroy's action in declaring India in common with the rest of the Empire to be at war with the Nazi Fascist Powers, crystallized these two main strands in Congress policy in a single hasty and ill-considered action. It is hardly necessary to recall that prior to 1939 Congress leaders repeatedly declared their abhorrence of the totalitarian powers' brutal and aggressive policies, and indeed sharply criticized the United Kingdom Government's failure to combat these policies by every means. There was therefore no suggestion that either Indian sentiments or Indian interests necessitated non-participation in the new conflict or indeed that the Viceroy's declaration was unconstitutional.

The Congress leaders however preferred to use the war as an opportunity for political bargaining in fact as an opportunity to enforce the establishment of a Congress Raj. And, at a juncture when renewed attempts are being made to reopen negotiations with Congress and to revive former efforts to establish a more representative Government it is important to form a clear perception of the exact consequences that would have ensued if this importunate demand reiterated with increasing insistence between 1939-1942 had been conceded. In a sentence as the declarations of the Muslim leaders made clear the sequel would have been civil war.

Prior to Gandhi's leadership the Congress Party, in the main, was evolutionary and constitutional. The Mahatma guided by his inner voice has made it revolutionary and unconstitutional. Preaching non-violence, his recurring civil disobedience campaigns have led invariably and inevitably to violence and general tension. Urging communal collaboration he forced one of his oldest and ablest colleagues the former Congress Premier in Madras (now a lone and pathetic wanderer in the political wilderness), to resign from the Congress Executive for no graver offence than an endeavour to meet Muslim demands halfway. Nominally a friend of the Depressed Classes he coerced its leaders by fasting, to abate a justifiable claim for separate electorates. A champion of the peasantry and of village handicraftsmen he leads an organization dependent financially on wealthy industrialists and opposes abolition of usury, the bane of rural India until political independence has been achieved (see *A Week with Gandhi* by Louis Fischer). A man of saintly life in the Indian tradition he has been a consistent saboteur, employing the weapons of boycott and civil disobedience to paralyse in turn British trade, the British Administration and India's own Legislatures. The natural climax of such a career was his attempt in 1942 to utilize the Congress to sabotage India's war effort and to attain a political primacy designed to establish a predominantly Hindu Government, overtly friendly to China, Russia and the other United Nations, but his first objective, after disbanding the Indian Army, would have been to seek a negotiated peace with Japan. As a pacifist, Gandhi could have no other aim, as a defeatist, he nurtured no braver hope. Having failed to achieve his aim by organized sabotage he resorted to a fast which happily was not fatal either to himself or—despite his hopes—

to the Indian Administration His views remain unchanged, but his prestige and influence have never fallen to a lower level and the Congress organization has never been more discredited, dispirited or disunited

In certain quarters His Majesty's Government are now being urged to embark on new efforts to break the deadlock by adumbrating new proposals. But such action cannot be one-sided Nor can it be forgotten that it was Gandhi's peculiar combination of pacifism and defeatism which was responsible, more than any other single factor, for the rejection by the Congress Party of the Cripps programme which the other major Indian parties were ready, otherwise, to accept. The Mahatma, without much practical success among his own followers—who nevertheless feel impelled in all crises to accept his leadership—has propagated the principle of non-violence as a solvent of international as well as domestic discords for over twenty years, and in this direction his sincerity is as clear and unchallengeable as his persistence To a Chinese delegate who sought his aid and counsel in 1939 he declared The Congress has no soldiers to offer The Congress fights not with violent but with non-violent means, however crude, however imperfect the non violence may be After Pearl Harbour, when the somewhat perturbed but opportunist Congress Executive offered collaboration in the war effort if their political demands were conceded, Gandhi intimated

I could not possibly identify myself with the door to participation [in the war] being kept open in any shape or form, because that would mean in my opinion a recantation of all that Congress has stood for in the last twenty years or more I would not be guilty of selling that heritage even for the independence of India because it would not be real independence

Later he said The Chinese made the mistake of fighting the Japanese and the fighting still goes on Give me control in India, he proclaimed, and I will meet the Japanese though not by fighting I would let them land Then by non-co-operation, even though they killed my people, I would stop them possessing India In a draft statement submitted to the Congress Working Committee at their Allahabad meeting for publication as a Congress manifesto which his colleagues induced him not to press he wrote If India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan Subsequently he explained that he excused this passage out of regard for my co-workers not because I was uncertain what I meant to do

It was always, and still remains optimistic to assume that a party so led and inspired could or would make a sincere and decisive contribution to an Indian War Cabinet, whatever its personnel or powers Contrariwise the present Indian Administration may not be politically popular, or representative in the party sense, but at least it is single minded and who will doubt its essential patriotism? Furthermore, however paradoxical the claim may appear it reflects the desire of nearly every important element in India's public life not excluding many nominal adherents of Congress (who are now beginning to shed their former defeatism), that the United Nations shall defeat the aggressor Powers and that India shall share in the burden, as well as in the fruits of victory

It is incorrect to assert that Gandhi has at any stage desired the formation of a provisional National Government prior to a complete withdrawal of British authority

I have not asked the British he has said to hand over India to the Congress or the Hindus Let them entrust India to God or in modern parlance to anarchy Then all the parties will fight like dogs, or will when real responsibility faces them come to a reasonable agreement I shall expect non-violence to emerge out of that chaos Palpably his aim accepted by his colleagues and followers, was not only to subvert British authority but to take India out of the war Happily India remains in the war, and its volunteer army of two million men may be expected to play a full part in the coming offensive against Japan as it has already done in other theatres of war notably in the Middle East and North Africa If, meanwhile, constitutional development remains in suspense, the blame cannot be debited solely to His Majesty's Government.

The final, decisive factor remains to be emphasized A survey of the Indian political prospect, however sketchy, which ignored the immense increase in the last two years in the membership, influence and popularity in the Muslim community of the All-India Muslim League under Mr Jinnah's astute leadership would create a

very misleading impression. There was a stage when Congress attempted to by-pass and supersede the All India Muslim League by making a direct appeal to the Muslim masses, aided to some extent by subsidiary Muslim organizations which were quite prepared to give Congress leaders a trial run. That stratagem failed. Today Mr Jinnah's organization has within its ranks a far larger membership than Congress was able to rally at the height of its influence—viz., when they commanded the patronage and prestige attached to control of all but four of the Provincial Governments. The Congress Party under Gandhi's mystic but maladroit leadership, threw away that advantage.

Acceptance of the Cripps programme would have given Congress, even during the war, the substance of power in India, but once again they sacrificed the reality for the shadow. The sequel has been not only the rallying of all the former semi-Congress Muslim subsidiary organizations to Mr Jinnah's leadership but domination by the All India Muslim League of most of the present Provincial Governments as complete as that exerted by Congress over its own puppet Ministries which resigned on the Working Committee's instructions, in 1939. Things are as they are and the consequences will be what they will be. Unless there is an entire reversal of the present policy of Mr Jinnah and his supporters, the Cripps scheme is dead inasmuch as the Muslims will refuse to participate except on the basis of prior acceptance of the Pakistan project as their minimum demand. The deadlock is complete, but is of Indian manufacture. Appeals to London are wrongly addressed. The Congress leader remains an implacable opponent alike of India's war effort and of Muslim demands for control of their own political destinies. If and when he shows a change of heart, he can also secure a change of residence.

Meanwhile the all-absorbing job of the Indian Administration is to get on with the war, and although without the assistance of India's two principal party organizations—and indeed despite the active obstruction of the largest of them—to carry the fight for security and freedom to its predestined conclusion.

INDIAN STATES CURRENT ACTIVITIES

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

In the last issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* it was pointed out, as disclosed in the Indian Census Report for 1941, that Travancore and Cochin States are far ahead of the most advanced Provinces of British India in respect of their percentage of literates. There are in fact several other States whose educational record rivals and in some cases excels that of neighbouring Provinces. Probably that attainment is not wholly unconnected with the circumstance that lower education is practically free in all the States, while in a majority even higher education is free. Wherever fees are levied they are of a token character and according to an authoritative analysis on the whole it can be safely said that education, whether high or low, is cheaper in Indian States than perhaps in any other part of the world.

In Hyderabad as disclosed in the latest administrative report, there are 7,000 schools with an attendance roll of 500,000. Of these at least half are primary schools, with an attendance roll of 327,000. The proportion of pupils under instruction to the total school age population works out at 21 per cent. There is one school for every 16 square miles in the Diwani area. As only 8 per cent of girls of school going age are being educated against 34½ per cent, in the case of boys, steps are being taken to provide educational facilities for girls in all well populated villages, while the number of girls' secondary schools is also being expanded. There are now nearly a hundred adult schools with over 3,000 pupils, while special attention is being devoted to the education of children of the Depressed Classes.

The only daughter of the last of the Ottomans of Turkey, Princess Durra Shewhar,

married about twelve years ago the heir-apparent of the Hyderabad State, thus becoming the Princess of Berar

Since her marriage she has taken a keen interest in the social and cultural life of the State. She has also identified herself completely with the womanhood of India.

Under her inspiring leadership the women of Hyderabad belonging to various communities and creeds, have been brought closer than ever before to each other. This has enabled them to take their rightful place by the side of their men and shoulder unitedly all the various responsibilities that devolve on them, particularly in these critical days.

About a year ago Her Highness the Princess of Berar organized a Civil Defence Corps for Women of Hyderabad. Reviewing its activities in a recent broadcast she said

It is barely a year now since the creation of my Civil Defence Corps for the women of Hyderabad. The need was obvious, the task was not light.

Directly seeking co-operation from the women of all ranks, interests and communities in the State, I invited their chief representatives to become my body of councillors and formulate plans for the co-ordination of civil defence activities under a single banner. In the generous response of these representatives the Corps was firmly rooted and largely to their individual qualities of leadership I attribute the rich diversity in the age type and outlook of the thousands who have come into ultimate unison within the discipline of our ranks. The actual number of members today is 2,086 and is rapidly rising, while hundreds of these have chosen to associate themselves as volunteers with the various functions of the Corps. From among the councillors I have appointed about fifteen to the Working Committee as office bearers, organizers and spokesmen of vital interests to help me in regulating executive powers and centralizing the control.

The Civil Defence Corps is an independent organization though it works in close collaboration with Government which from the very beginning has liberally assisted with subsidies and advice. It embodies the corporate desire and intention of our women citizens to make an effective contribution to total endeavour before, during and after an air raid to safeguard life and property within the State.

Membership therefore demands a primary qualification in A.R.P. This has proved a vital first step to ensure a progressive increase in the number of women competent to protect themselves and their homes in the moment of danger. It has also been of immeasurable value in stimulating interest for after enrolment the majority keenly continue to a more advanced study of A.R.P. and further equip themselves with a thorough knowledge of first aid and home nursing.

Through the training section organized by a full time worker the Corps provides special sets of lectures in all these subjects in six languages at centres covering almost the entire city. About eighty women, mostly doctors and teachers by profession are serving as honorary lecturers, demonstrators and examiners in their spare time. The subjects are divided each into three courses and the final tests conform to standards required by the St. John Ambulance Association. Many members have qualified in the highest grades in preparation for entering the fields of public service in the capacity of instructors, wardens, fire fighters, nurses or members of ambulance squads.

The sphere of success for this method of teaching, however, was found to be limited. It was not adequate to reach the majority of women who, bound down by poverty or illiteracy, could gain no advantage by attending the lectures. For them modified instruction was needed to suit the individual circumstances of their tiny homes and huts, their meagre incomes and crowded localities. To help these citizens, who stand in greater need of our service than the enlightened and well-to-do, has been an especial concern of my Corps. A system of house-to-house visiting was initiated by a band of voluntary workers who, apart from entering a substantial number of houses, have emphasized the value of their labours by reporting on the need of trenches and water-supply in certain areas and by suggesting ways for helping the poor to meet their practical difficulties in putting their knowledge to use.

So valuable has this experiment proved that the method of house-to-house visiting has been incorporated in an extensive scheme recently brought into operation, which aims at a penetration into smaller homes in every portion of the city, thus making



THE PRINCESS OF DENMARK CASTING A REVIEW OF THE ACTIVITIES OF HER CIVIL LIFE
 (SEE FOR THE WOMEN 1891-1892)



THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, MR. J. H. HARRIS, AND A MEETING OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, 1914.

over 200,000 women conversant, within three months if possible, with the elementary rules of self-defence. Sixty-five full-time workers have been appointed for the organization of this work.

"Several of my members have dedicated themselves to the task of evacuees relief. As a proper handling of the many problems and responsibilities involved in an undertaking of this kind would carry the Civil Defence Corps beyond its legitimate domain, the work of the sub-committee had naturally to be restricted. Temporary aid and hospitality are offered to our fellow-countrymen who pass as refugees through Hyderabad on their way back to their own States and Provinces. To evacuees seeking repatriation here, all opportunity is afforded to find employment or other suitable ways of settling down.

To me it is indeed a happy privilege to associate myself in these critical times with my fellow-citizens and to be made so intimately aware of their many qualities. I pay my tribute to the women of Hyderabad for their ability and enthusiasm, their innate sense of discipline and courage, and know that out of the spirit of true patriotism is born their loyalty and devotion to my Corps. As I watch the Corps shape so splendidly towards the envisaged end I am confident that it will endure the ultimate test and will triumph, because the material of which it is wrought is indestructible.

In closing I venture to express my hope that in other parts of the country similar efforts are being made to create a united front for civil defence, so that, as Indian women, we may form together a proud comradeship in this great service—for the protection of our people and the safety of our land!

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN MYSORE

Mysore is contemplating an experiment, designed to improve the position of handloom weavers in the State who are faced with severe competition from the mills, which will be watched with considerable interest in other States and Provinces confronted with the same problem. Addressing the Board of Industries and Commerce, Rao Bahadur K. S. Rao, Textile Expert to the Government of Bihar suggested that the existing competition could be mitigated by linking the handlooms with the spinning and finishing mills, with the object of combining the economies of large-scale production with those of village production, and it was decided to give this proposed co-ordination a trial. In Mysore indeed research and experiment are combining to make the State an industrial laboratory of singular interest and value. The Board of Industrial Planning and Co-ordination considers the progress of industrial research and reviews it from time to time in an effort to secure sustained and rapid improvement in this direction. Most of the important industrial concerns in the State, laboratories and other institutions are constantly engaged in research and experiment, and the results achieved are far from negligible. For example the iron and steel works have put into active operation a plant for the manufacture of formaldehyde and phenol formaldehyde moulding powder. A scheme for manufacturing potash salts from the ashes of cotton hulls is being investigated. Experiments for making electrodes from natural graphite and attempts at graphitizing petroleum coke have been successful. The sandalwood oil factory has done useful work in connection with the preparation of esters of santalol, the formate, acetate, propionate and butyrate of santalol and with investigating their commercial possibilities. At the Government lac and paint works the regular manufacture of popular shades of oil paints and special paints for the Hindustan aircraft has been undertaken. The Government silk factory takes credit for the successful investigation into the manufacture of parachute components and of light and heavy silk screwing thread, both of which have been supplied to the Government of India. In all other important industries similar progress is reported.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

₹1 000,000 000 FOR CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

By R W Brock

THE appointment of a Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council is an opportune and far-sighted move and, as claimed in the official announcement of its personnel and powers, invests the work of post war reconstruction with the highest importance. The Committee supersedes the original Co-ordination Committee and provides the necessary driving force to the whole programme at the highest level of authority. It will not only facilitate the co-ordination of the work of all the different committees examining problems in their own spheres but will initiate and sanction proposals. The Committee will be under the Viceroy as President, but all ordinary meetings will be held under the chairmanship of Sir J. P. Srivastava as Deputy President, the members including the Commander-in-Chief or his representative, and the Members for Defence, Labour, Supply, Commerce, War Transport and Finance.

Post war problems, it is rightly emphasized, afford common ground in which communal differences and major political issues should not enter. The essential conditions which are a necessary foundation for any reconstruction policy are an efficient Governmental machine and the co-operation of the Provincial and State Governments and the people at large, as well as of leaders of industries. In order to break down the vast problem into sizeable proportions, five departmental committees have been set up to deal with (1) demobilization and labour, (2) the disposal of contracts and Government purchases, (3) public works and communications, (4) internal and international trade policy, (5) agricultural policy. Each will be under the chairmanship of the Member of the Executive Council primarily concerned and the membership includes besides officials representatives of the Provincial Governments, States, trade and industry. A consultative Committee of Economists has also been formed under the chairmanship of the Commerce Member or in his absence the Economic Adviser, Sir Theodor Gregory.

The work falls into two categories—problems that will be the immediate result of the end of the war, like demobilization, and those of a long term nature which will deal with development and the improvement of social and economic conditions in other words problems of social security. As regards the resettlement of soldiers a good deal of preparatory work has already been done.

Steps are being taken to investigate the full requirements of industry in capital and goods, the conversion of war industry to peace production and the expansion of industry generally. More important or equally important is the organization of marketing, specially overseas, which will require the co-operation of both the Government and trade organizations.

Happily the immediate menace of inflation—arising from the immense expenditure on military requirements coinciding with a shortage of goods available for civilian consumption—is being overcome, although the food problem has not been fully solved. Grain hoarding is observable and may well continue unless arrangements can be devised enabling Government purchases to be made on the basis of exchanging grain for bullion (obtainable only from the vast accumulations of gold and silver in the United States) thereby substituting one form of hoarding for another less immediately harmful. It will be remembered that a timely shipment of silver from American vaults negotiated by the late Lord Reading in Washington averted inconvertibility in India during the last war and a comparable transaction today might well have equally beneficial consequences in relation to the so-called food shortage.

On the longer view, circumstances in India appear favourable for a Five-Year or Ten-Year Plan designed to utilize to maximum advantage the very considerable capital resources India has already accumulated and according to present trends, will continue to accumulate until the war ends. In the course of a recent analysis of

Britain's war debts in the *Economist* (August 7), it is pointed out that the sterling owed to India increased by £227 million during the twelve months to July 3, 1943, while over the same period long term sterling debt was repaid to the amount of some £705 million. This brake on the accumulation of sterling resources by India has now been virtually removed since the repatriation of all but £12,500,000 of the sterling debt has been provided for. Given no alteration in the balance of payments and in the financial agreement between the Indian and U.K. Governments these sterling assets piling up to the credit of the Indian Reserve Bank are likely to rise by an annual increment of about £300 million. As the *Economist* views the position. The generosity of the financial agreement between the two Governments which has led to the present enormous accumulation doubtless reflects credit on British intentions. But its lack of realism is none the less deplorable. Not only has the operation of this agreement revolutionized the debtor-creditor relations of the two countries but it is bestowing on India one of the most pronounced inflations experienced by any beligerent country. At the rate at which the debt to India is growing it will within another year, get within sight of £700 million. At the end of the war there may be some scope for its reduction by further transfer to Indian ownership of British capital invested in India. For the rest there will have to be a funding arrangement allowing the British debt to India—a debt largely incurred in the defence of India—to be repaid over a number of years by the only feasible method—an excess of exports to India over imports from that country.

The generosity of the financial agreement between the British Treasury and the Government of India negotiated by its very able Finance Member Sir Jeremy Raisman, is beyond challenge. But whether its post war consequences will prove mutually advantageous to Britain and India necessarily hinges on the precise utilization of the sterling resources India is accumulating. It is common ground that there is still immense scope for large scale capital development projects in India and it should not be impossible to evolve plans and reach agreements ensuring that the major part of the capital equipment required—such as for hydro-electric power installations, road construction, irrigation extensions, aircraft and the like—should be obtained from British producers. Allowing for currency reserve requirements on the one hand and capital available for investment in India on the other it is a safe calculation that when peace returns India will have available for reconstruction schemes and post war development projects generally not less than £1,000,000,000 from her own resources, and as already suggested the responsibility devolves on the Reconstruction Committee of the Government of India to prepare detailed plans designed to ensure the profitable investment of this sum within a measurable period.

In this respect no country in the Empire will be more favourably circumstanced. Political disunity for some years to come may continue to hamper India's constitutional progress. But certainly she cannot now be said to lack the financial resources necessary to ensure planned development of her economic potential and it would be tragic indeed if any impediment—administrative, political or racial—were allowed to hinder this development occurring at the earliest possible moment. No two countries are more economically interdependent than Great Britain and India and this should be fully recognized in the arrangements planned for post war implementation. In the years preceding the present war the balance of trade moved substantially in favour of India but this need not preclude a reverse movement after the present conflict, indeed such a readjustment is virtually inevitable and need occasion no regrets on either side.

In respect of a wide range of consumer goods India has become self sufficient, although her dependence to some extent on imported rice has revealed a dangerous deficiency which presumably every effort will be made to eliminate not only during the war period but thereafter. Indeed the extent of India's deficiency in food production must be measured not only by the tonnages formerly imported from Burma and other sources, but also by the generally low level of consumption which, moreover, is liable to progressive deterioration owing to the unchecked expansion in population. Rural development projects will therefore naturally figure prominently in the reconstruction programmes now being evolved—primarily in the interests of the rural population itself but also as the essential prerequisite to the fuller development of India's own industries and in order to promote an all-round improvement in her

present standard of living. Much has been done to carry into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, of which Lord Lanthigow was Chairman. But it is a reasonable assumption that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the chief administrative instrument for the implementation of these recommendations, could expand its present activities and expenditure with very beneficial results, and it would be short-sighted to refuse any funds it may desire. There are also many recommendations of the Industrial Commission which still remain valid, despite the lapse of years.

Another familiar theme is the immense scope for development of hydro-electric power, and here again the ample capital now available should permit a great acceleration of progress. In this field India's potential is second only to that of the United States, yet the actual power generated is relatively small. As epitomized in the current issue of the invaluable *Indian Year Book*, 1942-43, India promises to be one of the leading countries of the world in regard to the development of hydro-electric power, and great strides in this direction have already been made. India not only specially lends itself to projects of the kind but peremptorily demands them. Cheap motive power is one of the secrets of successful industrial development, and the favourable initial conditions caused by the war—the enthusiasm for industrial development which has seized nearly all classes of educated Indians, and the special attention which the circumstances of the war have compelled Government to direct towards the scientific utilization of Indian natural resources—all point to a rapid growth of industrial development in all parts of India within the next few years. Indeed, the process, for which sound foundations had been laid before the war, is now rapidly under way. India is severely handicapped compared with other lands as regards the generation of power by the consumption of fuel coal or oil. These commodities are all difficult to obtain and costly in India except in a few favoured areas. Water power and its transmission by electricity offer, on the other hand, immense possibilities, both as regards the quantity available and the cheapness at which the power can be rendered, in all parts of India. Favourable sites exist in many parts in the mountainous and hilly regions where the heaviest rainfalls occur, and the progress already made in utilizing such opportunities by the electrical transmission of power affords high encouragement for the future. Further, hydro-electric schemes can frequently be associated with important irrigation projects, the water being first used to drive the turbines at the generating stations and then distributed over the fields. The water power so far actually in sight amounts to 1½ million horse-power, but this excludes practically all the great rivers which are at present uninvestigated. Thus the minimum flow of the seven great rivers eastward from the Indus is stated to be capable of giving not less than 3 million horse-power for every thousand feet of fall from the Himalayas, while similar considerations apply to rivers in other parts.

A point of some importance in this context is that at present industrial concerns are for the most part, concentrated in a few cities which reproduce the worst features of Western industrialism in an aggravated form. A wide distribution of electrical power would help to avert further concentrations of this kind, leading to the location of many factories closer both to the sources of their raw materials and to the markets for their manufactures. A further gain would be the additional opportunities afforded to modernize many village industries. Commenting on the very substantial increase in India's urban population disclosed in the 1941 enumeration, the Census Commissioner urges a fifty-year plan for the development of India's water-power resources, emphasizing that if power is concentrated and not easily distributed, then the huge congregations of a coal economy such as characterize and disfigure England and other Western countries are inevitable. Electric power is easily transmitted and distributed; production thereby made possible. Here to some extent enters the difference between Bengal's congregation and the United Provinces' dispersion of cities, and if the United Provinces' grid and a proper use of water power extend we should see a corresponding reflection in the dispersion rather than the concentration of large industrial centres. And in a tropical country such a dispersion is even more desirable than it is elsewhere.

Hydro-electric power is, of course, only one of many directions in which large-scale capital expenditure would be profitable in India, although, if extended to bring

within its ambit a substantial percentage of India's 700,000 villages, its influence would be many-sided and wholly beneficial, stirring the pathetic contentment of the rural masses in a sense to which even Mahatma Gandhi need not object. If maximum progress is, however, to be secured there must be concurrent advance all along the line—in health, education, agricultural improvement, road transport and so forth. Sir Joseph Blore has agreed to preside over the committee recently appointed by the Government of India to report on public health questions, and the personnel of this body, and its terms of reference, justify the expectation that it will produce some fruitful recommendations touching this vital problem in all important aspects. A simultaneous advance in educational facilities is not less essential and in this field it may be hoped that full advantage will be taken of the developing appetite of the Indian population for wireless broadcasting and cinema shows. At least £10,000,000 could be spent to advantage by All India Radio on new transmitting stations and ancillary equipment, and in pursuance of such a programme there is no longer any insuperable financial difficulty in providing every village with a communal receiver set, even allowing for maintenance costs. The number of licensed sets in India has doubled during the war but is still under 200,000, including less than a tenth of that number in the Indian States. Village receiver-sets of a practical and inexpensive type have been evolved and tried out in several hundred villages with satisfactory results, and mass production of these should provide the basis for a large new local industry although it seems probable that for some years to come the more elaborate and expensive sets favoured by urban residents will continue to be imported. Adult as well as child education would receive an immense stimulus from such a measure.

Let it be added that in a country whose population is still predominantly illiterate the cinema film can prove almost as potent an instrument of popular education as wireless broadcasting, and that the conditions are favourable as attested by the calculation that the Indian film industry already occupies eighth place among Indian industries and produces films for 1,000 permanent cinemas in addition to 500 touring cinemas. Speaking broadly while the former meet urban requirements and can be left to private enterprise rural needs can be met only by a considerable expansion in the number of touring cinemas and will be fully satisfied only if the States are given a reasonable amount of State aid. The experience gained establishes popular interest in this form of instruction and entertainment and there are few methods of education which can be relied upon to yield a larger return on the outlay involved, a reasonable and practicable objective being the provision of facilities adequate to ensure a display of suitable films in every sizable village at least once a month.

Transport facilities also require much further development. Over £500 million have been invested in equipping India with a railway system approximately adequate to meet normal traffic requirements and, in the long run at least an equal sum will be required to provide the country with an adequate mileage of roads able to sustain the traffic which they are expected to carry. The present stage of development may be indicated briefly by noting that the total mileage of roads that are motorable is about 186,000 and that there are in the whole of India under 175,000 motor vehicles, including cars, taxis, buses, lorries and motor-cycles, this calculation excluding the large number of military vehicles added during the present war. The fact that the railways are State-owned, and that the extension of mechanized road traffic tends to eat into railway traffic and earnings, imposes an obvious restraint on official enthusiasm, especially at the Centre, for road improvement and extension but co-ordination is possible and can be promoted by concentrating on the development of roads designed to feed railway transport rather than to compete with it. In any event, there can be no adequate advance on present methods of cultivation and marketing in the rural areas without more and better roads, and ultimately temporary declines in railway revenues arising from the expansion of road motor transport would be more than offset by the manifold gains the scientific development of India's rural areas would undoubtedly yield.

Only along such lines is it conceivable that urban industries in India will secure a broad and stable foundation or British exports to India regain anything approaching their former volume. Manifestly, the channels of progress I have noted are illustrative, not exhaustive every trader and economist familiar with India can add a dozen

others. Probably the weight of rural indebtedness now remains India's heaviest single economic handicap, for until this is eliminated, or reduced to minor proportions, the mass consumption essential to sustain mechanized manufacture is lacking altogether or is restricted to only one or two staple products such as clothing. And usury will disappear only as the sequel to the emergence in India of an educated and enlightened peasantry able to defend their own interests individually and collectively. Hence the importance and urgency of promoting measures calculated to extend education, using that term in its widest sense. Suffice it in this brief survey to add that, in view of the present adventitious addition to her capital resources, India has never had a greater opportunity to improve its economic position to its own advantage and that of the Empire and Commonwealth, with whose destiny its own remains indissolubly linked.

THE INDIAN SEAMEN'S HOSTEL AT BIRKENHEAD

THE Indian Seamen's Hostel and Club, Mere Hall, Noctorum Birkenhead, was acquired and equipped and is financed and managed by shipping companies employing Indian crews, and in these respects is the first venture of the kind in this country. Earlier but unsuccessful efforts had been made by various authorities and bodies concerned with Indian seamen to find a building or buildings in the Liverpool area suitable for use as a hostel or hostels, but in the summer of 1942 the shipowners formed a committee on which representatives of the Ministries of Labour and War Transport and the High Commissioner for India were invited to serve. Mere Hall was then found, extensively altered and adapted for use as a hostel equipped throughout and opened in November of that year. The opening ceremony was performed by Sir Azizul Huque, then High Commissioner for India, with whom were the Mayor of Birkenhead, Mr. D. Warwick Williams of Messrs. Thos. and Jno. Brocklebank Ltd. (Chairman of the Shipowners' Committee), Mr. P. Noel Baker (Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport) and Mr. G. Tomlinson (Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and National Service). The hostel stands in grounds of over nine acres and has sleeping accommodation for about 120 seamen. It is excellently equipped throughout, and includes prayer room and a dispensary and hospital. Various games, etc. are provided for the seamen, and the lounge was furnished from an allotment made to the Indian Comforts Fund by Her Majesty the Queen Empress for the special benefit of Indian seamen.

Prior to the outbreak of the war the occasions on which Indian seamen were required to be accommodated ashore were comparatively few and the periods short but under war conditions there arose a greater demand for such accommodation and with the provision of additional accommodation opportunity has been taken to improve its standard very considerably. Hostels or boarding houses have been opened in the Glasgow and London areas and in both these cities as in Liverpool the shipowners have constituted committees whose main concern is the provision of hostel accommodation as may be found necessary and the maintenance of its standard. While staying ashore in these hostels the seamen are maintained by their respective shipping companies.

The general welfare of Indian seamen serving in the British mercantile marine was perhaps one of the most important matters connected with them brought to the front by the outbreak of war. In 1938 His Majesty's Government had accepted the recommendation of the International Labour Conference of 1936 regarding the welfare of all seamen while in this country and in pursuance of this step have set up a Seamen's Welfare Board in London and Port Welfare Committees at various ports. They have also appointed Seamen's Welfare Officers at the ports, who are ex-officio secretaries to the committees. In addition, the High Commissioner for India in 1940



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PLATE II



REPORT ROOM IN THE INDIAN SEAMEN HOSTEL BIRKENHEAD

appointed three Welfare Officers for Indian seamen, based on London, Liverpool and Glasgow, charged with the special duty of watching the welfare of Indian seamen and assisting and advising the local Port Welfare Committees and Welfare Officers as to their particular needs and problems.

It is considered essential not only to provide suitable accommodation for Indian seamen staying ashore, but that there should also be suitable amenities for those who, while living in their ships, come ashore in their leisure hours and for this purpose non-residential clubs and recreation centres have been opened in Birkenhead, Liverpool, Salford, Cardiff, Hull and Newport. These are all run by the Missions to Seamen and other similar bodies, and others are in contemplation. Also with the co-operation of the Indian Comforts Fund, the British Council the Overseas League, the Victoria League, etc., arrangements are from time to time made for the entertainment of Indian seamen from both ships and hostels, and it is hoped that this will become a regular organized feature.

Assistance to Indian seamen forms a large part of the work of the Indian Comforts Fund which issues standard parcels of clothing and comforts to all who come to ports in the United Kingdom and provides games, radio sets, gramophone records and other amenities in the various hostels and clubs.

POLISH REFUGEES IN INDIA

By KIRA BANASINSKA

(The author is the wife of the Polish Consul-General in Bombay who is carrying on much social activity on behalf of her countrymen)

SINCE the war started many thousands of Poles have had to leave their motherland and are now scattered all over the world. Some of them are in India. People from the northern region accustomed to snowy winters and rainy summers suddenly found themselves in an exotic country of everlasting summer except for a short monsoon period a summer which is shaping a mode of life which is very different from Polish ways in the old country that life being also influenced by the specific general conditions and numerous creeds and traditions preserved for centuries from generation to generation.

They had very little knowledge of India before the war. The vast majority knew probably no more than what Kipling's *Jungle Book* or Rabindranath Tagore's works could teach them; others learned only as much as various films of the 'Indian Tomb' variety would show them. But however little they knew of India, their fancy created wonderful pictures with Maharajahs hunting tigers as the background. There were a few lucky ones who came to India before the present war as tourists and really did take part in tiger hunts as the guests of Maharajahs. Amongst the Poles who visited India before the war were a well-known Polish writer Ferdynand Goetel and Aleksander Janta Polczynski. Dr Maryla Falk, Professor of Warsaw University also came to Calcutta before the war as the Lecturer in Polish and Slavonic Languages at Calcutta University.

At the beginning of 1941 the first batch of refugees arrived in India from the East. They came from Wilno via Siberia, Japan, China and Burma. Another group of refugees arrived from the West via Bucharest, Istanbul and Baghdad. These people, driven by the unfortunate circumstances of war, landed here haggard and exhausted. However, almost all of them have proved themselves most enterprising, and in a comparatively short time have learned the language, found suitable employment and established small workshops. A few specialists in engineering have obtained prominent posts in various factories, they have gained the confidence of

the management and of their Indian fellow-workers. They are employed in the war industry and in the army supplying concerns. They have shown initiative and established a few important enterprises. They have become independent, have sent their children to English schools and live more or less a normal life. They are also developing their social and cultural life. Through their Union they collaborate with the Czechoslovak Society in Bombay, paving the way to fraternal relationship in the future federated Europe. They publish a monthly review, *Polish News*.

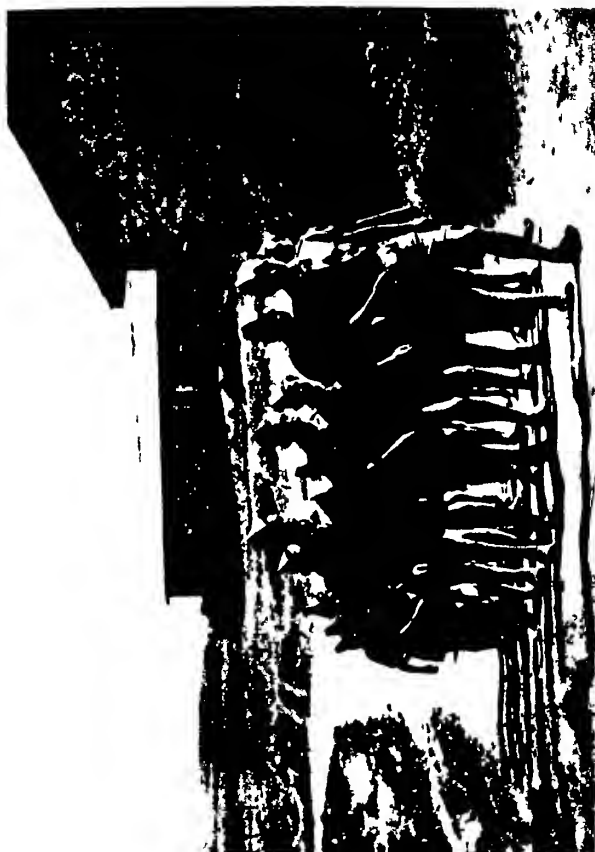
Polish science is represented by Dr J. Miu, Lecturer of Warsaw University, a linguistic expert, especially of Chinese and other Eastern languages, and by Dr L. Sternbach, Supernumerary Professor of Lwow and Krakow Universities. Polish art is represented by a famous Polish painter, S. Norblin, and there are two artists of the Polish stage, Lena Zelichowska and Hanka Ordonowna. The latter has recently left for Iran.

However, the main group of refugees who are our greatest concern are the Polish women and children who arrived in India after being evacuated from Russia in the spring of 1942. No efforts are being spared to assure them the best possible living conditions for the duration of hostilities. These women and children are mostly the families of the Polish soldiers now serving in England, Palestine and Iraq, but there are also the wives and children of the Polish prisoners of war in Germany and a good number of orphans whose parents have perished from typhus or starvation. The first camp for 1,000 of the Polish refugee children was set up at Balachadi in the State of Jamnagar. For the time being there are only 700 children. Thanks to the friendly attitude and collaboration of His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and His Highness the Maharani, the Government of India and the British authorities, a camp was built and equipped in which the children under the care of their Polish guardians and priest will to some extent compensate the enormous losses borne during the four years of the war.

The primary school, the public school with the nucleus of a gymnasium, courses in the English language, scouting, a reading-room, a theatre, games and sports in the open air are the features of their daily life. The children's sufferings were great: two severe winters in Siberia, roaming through the steppes of Kasachstan and on the frozen waters of Amu Daria, hunger, diseases, orphanhood—all this was almost too much for their young shoulders to bear. Amongst the children in Jamnagar there are, for instance, two boys saved out of seven members of one family. The father of the family too old to keep pace with the others and unable to board the moving train, stayed behind and is now missing somewhere in Russia. The mother with five children continued the journey though deprived of their father's protection and guidance. But then typhus broke out and the youngest child died in the railway compartment. The rest of the family, also suffering from typhus, were sent to the hospital. Only two children survived—ten year-old Janka and Stas. And here is another story. A year ago eleven year-old Tadzio K., whose parents died in a kolchoz near Bucharra, was left as sole guardian of his three year-old brother. It was a painful march for these two boys over the twelve miles distance to the Polish Orphanage at Bucharra. Both the guardian and his pupil with great difficulty were saved after their arrival. All these children are now in Jamnagar under the care of the staff of the camp. There their wounds are slowly healing and the remembrance of the terrible experiences is fading away.

There is an infirmary, a dentist and a hospital deal with minor cases, the more serious surgical cases being referred to Rajkot or to Bombay. A small group of very weak children has been sent to Ootacamund. Another batch consisting of children under observation for tuberculosis are staying in a sanatorium at Panchgani.

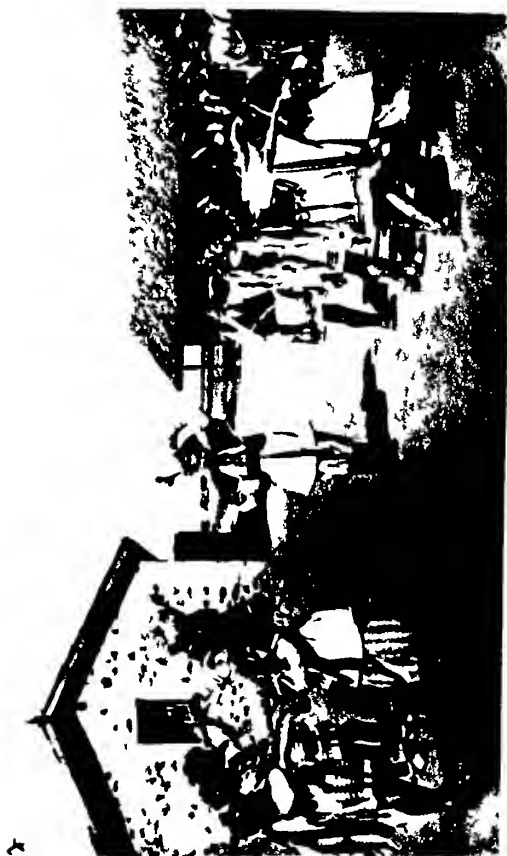
All the boys are anxious to fight in the war for liberty. A group of them, sixteen years of age, will soon leave to join a flying-school. Six boys of the Jamnagar Camp are already serving on one of the Polish merchantmen. One of the six boys is a kind of veteran of this war. He was arrested by the Germans and sent for agricultural work together with his parents. However, he escaped at the first opportunity to the Soviet side. For illegally crossing the border he was arrested by the Russians and sentenced as a minor for one year only. Now he is free. Let us hope that in the near future he will safely reach his native shores.



ОТДѢЛЪ НА НАУКУ



A LINE OF SOLDIERS AT THE TAMNA AR CAMP



THE THIRTEEN NATIONS COSTUMES AT THE U.S.A. CAMP

PLATE IV



JAMNA AK, INDIA - A FIFTH-CLASS KULU-THAKUR WOMAN
ENTHUSIASTICALLY

PICTURE 11

1. 10. 1

There is a group of Polish girls in Karachi. They are living in a convent, where they study English, stenography, typewriting and office routine.

Our work here is meeting with various difficulties. The new camps erected in such different conditions from those in which we live in our country cannot meet the needs thought out by our most careful planning. The great distances render the transportation of food and other necessary articles difficult and unfavourable climatic conditions, the scarcity of teachers and medical officers are our main anxieties. The temporary camp near Karachi comprises 2,000 to 3,000 people, and is used for the Polish refugees proceeding to Central Africa. They live there in tents during a period of a few weeks until sea transport is provided. The local community, the Government, the British military authorities and the Red Cross are taking a great interest in these refugees and are giving them their fullest support. The American Army is supplying the camp with priceless gifts of great quantities of medicine. They also interest themselves in the living conditions at the camp, they have arranged a reception for 1,000 people for Christmas and distributed appropriate gifts to all the refugees, not excluding the adults. At the Jamnagar Camp, besides the Christmas tree and the puppet show organized for the children by the management of the camp, Father Christmas arrived with two fully loaded camels. A not unusual sight in the Karachi streets today are British and American soldiers with five or six Polish children, whom they take from the camp in order to let them choose toys to their liking. Visitors carrying gifts call on Polish children at the camp and the hospital but also numerous presents are sent to them by post from all parts of India. Miss Ann Gouthrie of the Y.W.C.A. is partly responsible for it. The gifts consist of toys, clothing, books, etc. The children, of course, are meeting with a most enthusiastic reception from the Polish soldiers. Whenever a Polish merchantman arrives at an Indian port the Polish soldiers immediately call on our relief institutions, bringing with them besides toys and sweets, also Polish books and magazines, the scarcity of which is always great. They are visiting the children in the camps and even spend with them their shore leaves, being always willing to make up for their absent or lost parents.

The Government of India agreed to keep 500 Polish children as their guests providing for the whole of their maintenance. The camp, although of a temporary character, is equipped with a reading-room, moving pictures are shown from time to time, nourishment for the weak children is provided and various games are organized for them out of doors. In a separate building there is a hospital for the sick. Large, well-provided stores with clothing supply the necessary equipment for the refugees proceeding to their ultimate destination. Last year two expeditions were sent to Russia. They bought for our countrymen there hundreds of tons of food, clothing and medicines. The great quantities of material are also being sent by sea routes.

There is another camp at Malir in which 1,500 people have already found a refuge. A further centre for Polish refugees is being arranged in Kolhapur State. This camp will house about 5,000 and will be managed on different principles. Small farms will be provided to enable people to work independently and thus develop initiative, strength, decision in choosing a suitable occupation—collective life in the camps during the four years having almost thrown many of them off their balance which they will regain under the new conditions.

It forms part of our programme to develop welfare work and co-operative and self-administrative ideas as bases for life in the settlements. Various sections will be installed, such as economic, hygienic, reading room, educational courses, nursing courses, gardening, handicrafts, courses in English, a theatre, cinema, newspapers, schools, a hospital, etc., in order to occupy the majority of the women and children, and these will create the atmosphere in which we desire to educate our precious treasure, the young generation, to make them fit for the reconstruction work of their motherland which awaits them when they return to their liberated country.

It is understood that this is a tremendous task, and its fulfilment will depend upon the resources at our disposal and the possibility of securing an adequate staff of teachers and medical officers.

In the general settlement scheme 11,000 people evacuated from the U.S.S.R. will be settled in India. We hope that, once saved, under the care of the local authorities,

the Consulate General of Poland and the Delegate of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Polish Red Cross, they will hold out to the end of the war

A number of Polish refugees will probably remain in India for some time, having become associated with the trade and industry in this country. The majority however will return to Poland enriched by their new experiences and knowledge of the country, its customs and cultural life, of which they knew so little before and no doubt this knowledge will create new possibilities for the future development of both cultural and commercial relations between the two countries

SIBERIAN COMMUNICATIONS

By G. D. R. PHILLIPS

THE existence and development of our State—bigger in area than any other State in the world including the British Empire without the Dominions—is unthinkable without a well-ordered railway system uniting our enormous regions into a single State whole. Britain as a State would be unthinkable without a first-class sea transport system uniting into a single whole her many territories. In precisely the same way the U.S.S.R. as a State would be unthinkable without a first-class railway transport uniting into a single whole her many regions and districts. Herein lies the great State significance of railway transport in the U.S.S.R. MARSHAL STALIN at a reception of railway workers in the Kremlin July 30 1935

The Soviet Union has ever since the Revolution been faced with the possibility of a war on two fronts in the West and in the Far East. This fact has governed the development of communications over the whole country including Siberia.

After the initial period up to 1928 of recovery from the ruin brought by the civil war and intervention the First Five Year Plan sponsored by Marshal Stalin already showed the trend of development. The problem was to ensure firstly that the new big centres of industry should be as invulnerable as possible from invasion; secondly that if the Soviet Far East were attacked it should not need to draw too heavily on the Europe in part of the Soviet Union for supplies; and thirdly that east-west communications should be improved as rapidly as possible so that what supplies were needed could be rushed east or west without difficulty. Old Russia's east-west communications were almost confined to the one single track Trans-Siberian line and her industries were practically entirely in European Russia. These two facts were a large part of the reason for her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War.

Big new industrial centres were therefore begun and largely completed in the heart of the country between the Urals and the Altai north-west of Mongolia—Magnitogorsk (Magnat Mountain) Nizhne Tagil (Chelyabinsk the Kuznets (Blacksmith) Basin. These were out of reach of invaders or even their bombers from east or west.

Moreover they were placed on top of their supplies. Magnitogorsk consists of a mountain of iron-ore. Within easy reach are the rare metals required for making high grade steels. Only the coal had to be brought from a long distance—from Kuznetsk where the best coal in the world lies on the surface to be scooped up by mechanical grabs. Kuznetsk on the other hand lacked iron. Trains ran perpetually to and fro between Kuznetsk and Magnitogorsk carrying coal one way iron the other. But the railway might be needed for carrying troops so geologists went out and discovered iron near Kuznetsk coal near Magnitogorsk the mutual flow was greatly diminished.

More than this central concentrated industrial base was required however. The Soviet Union depending on that alone would in the event of attack in the east or west be faced with big traffic problems over at least half the country's communications. Once this industrial centre was well under way therefore a new policy was

followed of erecting smaller bases all over the country not so large that the loss of any few of them to an enemy would cripple Soviet production, numerous and varied enough to maintain an adequate supply independently of the central industrial base in Western Siberia and the Urals.

This policy was designed partly in order to take some of the weight of the new industrial traffic off the communication lines (there were certain other reasons for it as well, connected with the Soviet Union's policy towards its national minorities and other matters). But the growth of industry was so rapid that the communication lines nevertheless became greatly strained. Moreover the rate of growth of industry was constantly being stepped up, for as the new heavy industry came into operation it reproduced itself, blast furnaces and rolling mills produced blast furnaces and rolling mills and these products did not substitute but were added to, the great flow of foreign imported equipment. This meant that the strain on communications was going to become greater, not less, as time went on.

The Soviet Government, therefore even during the First Five Year Plan, set about greatly developing its communications—especially in the East. Nine thousand miles of new railways were begun during the First Plan and four thousand were completed and put into operation, of those figures four-fifths were in the East. They included the new Turkestan-Siberia Railway which was designed to provide a direct link between the cotton of Central Asia and the wheat and machinery of Western Siberia thus avoiding the roundabout route via European Russia. The Trans-Siberian Railway was double tracked for most of its length (this was completed in the Second Plan).

New river routes were also opened with navigation along the Yenisei, Ob, Lena and other great rivers almost throughout their length. Fifty-eight thousand miles of road were built largely coated roads some of these were built for the first time, in North East Siberia.

But all this was not enough. The density of goods traffic per kilometre on the railways increased to 2,075,000 ton kilometres by 1923 as against 1,730,000 anticipated in the Plan and as against 1,123,000 in 1913.

Investments in transport in the Second Plan (1933-38) were over three times those in the First Plan. It was intended to quadruple motor-car and lorry construction, treble locomotive building, quadruple production of railway rolling stock. These estimates were considerably exceeded in the actual course of carrying out the Plan.

Many new railways were put into construction and some of them completed during the Second Plan. One was the Baikal-Amur trunk line duplicating the old Trans-Siberian and another was the Kartaly-Akmolinsk-Kuznetsk Basin-Taishet trunk. These two taken together are of the utmost importance.

Taishet is on the Trans-Siberian Railway east of Krasnoyarsk. It is from this point that the Baikal-Amur line stretches for 1,800 miles eastward round the north end of Lake Baikal and well north of the Trans-Siberian and of the frontier. The line is believed to cross the Amur River at the new city of Komsomolsk and to reach the Pacific Ocean at Soviet Haven opposite Sakhalin Island. This new railway is much less vulnerable to foreign attack than is the Trans-Siberian. Its exact route has been kept a secret. The line lies very largely through hitherto undeveloped and even unexplored taiga or Siberian wilderness. It connects up the limit of navigation on the Upper Lena, the great Tunguska coal deposits, the Vitim goldfields, and the gold, coal and rare metals of the Zeya and Bureya rivers north of the Amur.

As M. Molotov said in 1934 speaking at the Communist Party Congress: 'The construction of the Baikal-Amur line stands out by its greatness among all new rail road constructions. It will assist in drawing into economic life a great territory hitherto largely inaccessible to man.'

And from the same Taishet in the opposite direction south of the old Trans-Siberian and likewise opening up new territory, goes the new trunk line through Kuznetsk and Akmolinsk to Kartaly and Magnitogorsk, about one thousand five hundred miles. This connects with the Karaganda coalfield and the Balkhash copper mine and works.

No announcement has been made of the completion of this great trans-continental railway but the Akmolinsk-Kartaly section—five hundred miles long—was built in

eleven months and was running by February 1940. At this rate the whole railway from Magnitogorsk to the Pacific should have been finished before Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941.

It is worth noting, in this connection, that in ten months in 1938 a new railway was built from Ulan Udé, just east of Lake Baikal, southwards to the Mongolian frontier. This line covers two hundred miles of country difficult for railway construction, necessitating many high bridges crossing and re-crossing the River Selenga and its tributaries. This line, incidentally, gets its fuel from coal and oil deposits on Goose Lake, beside which it passes. It has been reported—though not in Soviet organs—to have been extended southward to Ulan Bator, capital of Outer Mongolia and certainly such extension would be much easier to build than the original section from Baikal to the frontier.

This new railway construction in Siberia met considerable difficulties. One of the worst was the peculiar character of the ground where at depths varying from a yard to six yards below the surface lies the level known as 'eternal frost'—ground which never thaws; moreover, in spring the top layer of soil is apt to turn into an endless, bottomless morass of mud. Soviet engineers however have devised processes which largely overcome this difficulty.

In 1934 I travelled from Moscow to Ulan Udé by peasant train—that is, by the ordinary train instead of the luxury express by which most foreigners travelled. Not much had then been done in the way of improving the track. Beyond Sverdlovsk it was already double track, but the rails were largely of the old light type, and ballast was insufficient. The foreign press at the time was full of stories describing how the Trans-Siberian Railway was in ruins, how wrecked trains lay scattered carelessly by the line side, how bandits would hold up the trains and loot them.

It is true that at that time German and Japanese agents were doing their best to wreck the Soviet railway system organizing accidents and so on. But none of these things happened to me, nor did anyone on my train seem alarmed about the journey. The four thousand miles were covered (each way) in a week giving an average speed of twenty five miles per hour overall. That is a reasonable speed over such a distance for a train which made no claim to be fast. The International Express did the same journey regularly in five days. My train arrived on schedule at its destination on both the outward and return journeys.

It was noteworthy that my peasant train even so long ago, was perfectly clean. Indeed one day some time after leaving a station an uproar arose further down my coach—a family had got on at the last station and the other passengers had discovered that the newcomers were verminous: the train officials made the offenders get off again at the next station (which might mean something like catastrophe for them), and the coach was fumigated. Once a day the whole train was washed out and sprayed with disinfectant.

Nevertheless it was clear to me that there were difficulties. A little way east of Krasnoyarsk we stopped. Something was wrong with the engine. I wandered up to see and found that a bearing of the right connecting-rod had become overheated and had seized. The driver astounded me by filling a bucket with water from the tender and hurling it at the bearing, causing an explosion and a cloud of steam. He went on doing this until the bearing was cool again! I mentioned this incident to a Russian friend of mine who used to drive freight trains on this same stretch (and who later became a professor): he was highly indignant at such carelessness.

Again running through the astonishing series of tunnels round the southern foot of Lake Baikal the train stopped—a length of rail had been damaged—too little play had been left to allow for expansion in the great summer heat.

These were troubles typical of a country which was struggling to multiply its technical personnel at an even higher rate than it was developing its industry. It would have been absurd to argue from such incidents (as unfortunately some people in Europe did argue) that Soviet industry and communications were falling to bits: they were growing fast, and suffering from growing-pains. The efficiency of Soviet railways has proved itself very thoroughly during this war and when peace-time conditions allow more of the story to be told, railway efficiency will be found to provide startling explanations of some of the Soviet victories over the Germans.

It was to deal with these growing pains that in 1932 the Commissariat of Communications began the construction of the great locomotive and wagon factory in Ulan-Udé, which was already working when I visited the city in 1934. This was planned as a repair works, to supplement the two small old plants at Nikol'sk on the Ussuri and at Chita east of Buryat-Mongolia. It had hardly begun operation as a repair works, however, when it began constructing on its own account the heaviest, most powerful, latest types of locomotive and rolling-stock. This enormous, complex plant—or rather group of plants—has become one of the most important industrial establishments of the whole Soviet Union. Its string of sections includes not only locomotive-assembly, tender-assembly, wagon-assembly, wheel chassis model, carpentry, instrument-making, blacksmithing and other plants, but iron steel and copper smelting works, compressor station, gas generating station, and a great electricity station with an output of 39,000 kilowatts. A brick shop produces 25,000,000 bricks a year, saw mills produce 150,000 cubic metres of wood.

This great plant in 1936 had 15,000 workers. They live not in the old town of Ulan-Udé, but in a new city which I saw—a city of white blocks of flats and green boulevards, of theatres, libraries, cinemas and playing fields. There they live with their families.

It is clear that a plant of this size at Ulan-Udé should economically be linked with the new Baikal-Amur Railway running round the opposite end of Lake Baikal—a suggestion for such a linking railway was already made some years ago, and it seems probable that it has in fact been built, but the Soviet Government in pre-war years was loth to give away information on strategically important railways.

River transport was developed later than the railways, mainly owing to Axis agents who were in a position to sabotage it. Nevertheless there has been much improvement in recent years. For example there are large shipyards on the Selenga River and at some of the ports on Lake Baikal where motor vessels are made. These ply up the Selenga into the heart of Mongolia where there is untold wealth of meat, wool, horses and minerals, and in the opposite direction they ply across Lake Baikal and down the Angara, to connect with the Yenisei and thus with the new east-west sea route through the Arctic Ocean. It is possible to travel from London to Central Mongolia by water.

In 1912 the Selenga carried 6,000 tons of freight; in 1935 it carried 200,000 tons.

Yet as late as 1937, in a country full of navigable rivers like the Soviet Union, only 8 per cent. of the total freight was carried by river and 90 per cent. by rail, and the Third Five Year Plan beginning in 1938 aimed to increase railway traffic by 44 per cent.

To ease the rails the Party Congress in March 1939 declared the necessity both of bringing water transport up to the mark and of eliminating unnecessary railway cross-hauls and long-distance transports. M. Molotov at that time pointed out that Soviet railways were already utilized much more intensively than American lines, with an annual traffic now of over 4,000,000 tons per kilometre compared with under 2,000,000 in the U.S.A. Our railway construction, said M. Molotov, must ensure the inauguration of approximately 11,000 kilometres of new railway. Eight thousand kilometres (five thousand miles) of second track are to be laid. The number of locomotives must be increased by 7,370, mainly powerful locomotives and particularly condenser locomotives. The condenser was invented by a Soviet engineer; it can run for nearly a thousand miles without taking on water and saves 30 per cent. fuel.

The Third Plan, which had run more than three of its five years when the Germans attacked the country, aimed to develop Siberian industry and agriculture still further to avoid transport from Europe. For instance sugar-beet was for the first time extensively planted in the East, and local refineries built to deal with it.

Perhaps with an eye on the probability of war, great encouragement was given to a movement among women railway workers to become engineers, particularly drivers. Courses for them were attended in 1939 by no less than 16,000 women, including 5,000 preparing to become drivers' assistants and later drivers. These women are doing great work for their country today.

A great length of new roadways, largely metalled, was also built in Siberia during

the Second and Third Plans. Details of them, however, are lacking for strategic reasons. One of the most important is known to be that leading northwards from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk on the Amur River.

M. Molotov in 1939 made the purpose of all this development clear. Referring to the new Baikal Amur Railway and to the construction of new industries in Siberia, he said:

The example of the Far East makes it particularly obvious that unless we have a comprehensive development of the principal economic centres of the country, we cannot safeguard our vital interests as a state. The Baikal Amur Railway will add another powerful unit to the transportation facilities linking the Far Eastern territories and Siberia. We regard the Far Eastern territory as a mighty outpost of Soviet power in the East which must be strengthened in every way.

THE CONFUCIAN EXHIBITION, OPENED BY H.E. THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR

From July 13 to 29 a Confucian Exhibition was held at 20 Portman Square under the auspices of the Courtauld Institute of Art and the China Society. More than 500 persons visited the Exhibition which comprised sixty-seven items—portraits of Confucius and episodes in his life and views photographed at Ch'u fu the home of the Sage in Shan-tung showing the Temple Palace of the Confucian Duke and the Confucian cemetery. The portraits were from engraved stone slabs preserved at Ch'u fu and said to be copies of paintings by famous artists one being attributed to Ku K'ai-chih of the fourth century and the others to Wu Tao-tzu of the eighth century. Pictures of the episodes were derived from various sources—three from Shan-tung bas-reliefs of the second century, ten from paintings by the fourteenth-century artist Wang Chên-p'êng and others from wood-cut albums sold to pilgrims as souvenirs of their visit to Ch'u fu.

A charge for admission was made for the benefit of the United Aid to China Fund.

The Deputy Director of the Courtauld Institute Major A. Blum welcomed Dr V. K. Wellington Koo who was accompanied by Madame Koo. His Excellency said: "I am called upon to perform the pleasant task of opening this Exhibition devoted to the life and legend of Confucius. We owe it to Professor Yetts, whose scholarly interest and painstaking care have made it possible to display before you such an interesting collection of pictures and illustrations bearing upon the life of the greatest sage of China. A booklet entitled *The Legend of Confucius* has also been written by him as an explanatory adjunct for those not familiar with the subject. I am sure you would all wish me to congratulate him on the success of his exertions so richly manifested in this room."

I know that to inaugurate this Exhibition is no task to be undertaken lightly heartedly, and I confess that in carrying it out I experience all the sense of veneration due to the name and the memory of the most renowned contributor and exponent of Chinese civilization. There may be disagreement as to whether Confucianism is a religion but there can be no dispute as to the fact that Confucius was the greatest thinker and moral teacher that China has ever produced. He has exercised upon the thought and institutions of the Chinese people an influence which is unique in the history of China. His rules of conduct for regulating the various kinds of human relationships have pervaded the mind and spirit of the Chinese race to this day. For example the three cardinal principles of loyalty to the sovereign, filial piety to the parents and mutual respect between husband and wife laid the solid foundation for the stability of the State and the family throughout the long centuries. Add to these principles brotherly love and goodwill between friends, which he also stressed, and we have the code of five standard rules of conduct taught to every Chinese.

The well-known Confucian precept, "Do not unto others what you would not



FROM THE 1940s

BY

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND THE FBI

IN THE WASHINGTON AREA

PLATE II



THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR OPENS THE EXHIBITION
 FROM LEFT: MAO ZHONG-QUAN, MAO ZHONG-QUAN, AND MAO ZHONG-QUAN

others do unto you, is another important teaching by him which, in its essence, is not much different from the Christian precept, Do unto others what you would others do unto you. The ideas of an organized world in the time of Confucius were necessarily primitive and little developed as compared with our present-day notions. Yet he was not unaware of it. His pronouncement Within the four seas all are brethren reveals the depth of his thought and the kind of spirit which he believed to be necessary for the preservation of peace and concord in a world community.

In short, the teachings of China's greatest sage are strikingly rational and human, simple enough for everybody to understand and easy enough for all to follow in practice. It is perhaps for this reason that the influence of Confucius upon the Chinese people has lasted to this day and remains dominant in their minds. In the course of nearly 2500 years since his death several attempts have been made to denigrate his name and disparage his work. But such attempts never succeeded for long, and each time they served in the end only to bring out more clearly by contrast the majesty of his thought and the splendour of his ideals. The present new life movement in China is further evidence of the eternal triumph for the Confucian principles. The China of today while rushing headlong steadily on the path of modernization still holds fast to the great body of rules of conduct prescribed by Confucius. In the present storm and stress of resistance to invasion and reconstruction in the rear they serve to China and the Chinese people as strong anchors in a turbulent sea.

One could dwell upon the significance of the life and work of Confucius indefinitely. But I hope my few remarks will help to stimulate your interest in this Exhibition as well as to increase your appreciation of its significance. For, in my opinion, to know something of the life and work of Confucius is one of the best ways to understand China and the Chinese people.

As Hon. President of the China Society as well as in my official capacity I welcome this Exhibition. One of the avowed aims of the Society is to hold exhibitions but this is the first time it has realized that aim. The Exhibition also fittingly continues the studies in Chinese Art and Archaeology which have been carried on successfully at the Courtauld Institute since the Chair was endowed by the University of China Committee in 1932. I am told that it is the only Chair of Chinese Art and Archaeology in Europe. The work of this Chair in furthering cultural relations between this country and my own is of incalculable value and I hope that it may continue on a permanent basis.

With these few words I take pleasure in declaring the Exhibition open and in wishing it every success.

THE FAILURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN SIAM

By SIR JOSIAH CROSBY, KCMG, KBE, CIE

THE *comp d'état* which was staged successfully in Bangkok on June 24 1932 had for its object the suppression of the absolute monarchy (the only system of government which Siam had known up to then) and its replacement by a constitutional régime along Western democratic lines. Democracy be it remembered was still the prevailing political fashion in those days although it was already being noisily decried by the newly established totalitarian régimes in Germany and Italy and in the case of the Siamese—who are as anxious to be in the fashion as most people—there was the recent example of nearby China to arouse in the more active-minded among them the wish to initiate a democratic experiment of their own. Moreover a change in the form of government was desirable upon the merits for judged by modern standards, the system of rule by an absolute hereditary Sovereign, however useful it may have

proved in the past, can only be regarded as an anachronism today in any State which aims at being progressive

The intellectual authors of the movement behind the *coup d'état* were a group of younger members of the Siamese intelligentsia, at the head of whom was Luang Pradist Manudharm, a graduate in law who had only lately returned after a period of study in France. With these people were joined a number of officers in the army and navy, the most important among them being two colonels named, respectively, Phya Phahol Pholphayuhasena and Phya Song Suradej, the former of whom had been educated in Germany and Denmark and the latter in Germany. This group of officers was responsible for the organization of the requisite display of military strength which enabled the conspirators to seize possession of the government and ultimately to force King Prajadhipok to promulgate a Constitution.

Of the young intellectuals it can be said that upon the whole they were inspired by genuinely democratic ideals but the motives of the soldiers and sailors in associating themselves with the intellectuals were more questionable. There had been great dissatisfaction among them over their rates of pay, and there is ground for supposing that their underlying reason for helping to bring off the *coup d'état* was the hope of bettering their financial position through the change of government which they were setting out to achieve. Although, naturally enough, undue prominence was not given to this incentive at the moment. For the rest as has been said democracy was then in the air and the officers in question had no objection to allying themselves with the liberals for the purpose of establishing a constitutional régime. It is important to bear this point in mind: it was under the ostensible sign of democracy that the military members of the conspiracy united with the intellectuals and it was under that sign that all of the conspirators conquered.

The *coup d'état* was followed by the formation of a Cabinet under Siam's first Prime Minister, Phya Manopakorn, who until then had been occupying the position of Chief Judge of the Appeal Court and who was recommended to the King for this new office by the promoters (as they came to be called) of the revolution although he was not himself of their number. With the help of Phya Mano a Constitution was drafted the progressive tendency of which may be seen from the circumstance that one of its clauses restricted the royal prerogative of declaring war to cases in which its exercise would not be contrary to the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations. A single-chamber Legislature was at the same time created under the title of the Assembly of the People's Representatives, one-half of whose members were elected by popular vote the other half being nominated in theory by the Crown but in actual fact by the Government of the day. It was laid down in the Constitution that after the expiration of ten years all the members of the Assembly should be elected.

It is unnecessary to dwell in detail upon the course of events during the first years of constitutional government in Siam. It may be recorded however that Phya Mano disapproving of the radical tendencies displayed by some of his colleagues in the Cabinet and by certain members of the People's Assembly attempted to suspend the Constitution in the month of June 1933. His effort was frustrated by the prompt action of the military under Phya Phahol as a consequence of which Phya Mano left the country the promoters of the *coup d'état* (a body of men numbering some eighty or ninety persons) thereupon availing themselves of the opportunity to take the administration of the kingdom more firmly into their own hands. A new Government was formed under Phya Phahol who remained at the head of a succession of Cabinets until almost the end of 1938 when he was followed as Prime Minister by Colonel (now Field Marshal) Luang Pibul Songgram. In October 1933, a counter-revolution was set on foot by General Prince Bovoradej, a cousin of the King and a former Minister of War but was suppressed by the majority of the army (which stood by the new régime) under the leadership of Luang Pibul who was one of the promoters and who served for a long period as Minister of Defence under Phya Phahol. It was through his defeat of the counter-revolution that Luang Pibul attained to that ascendancy which led to his becoming subsequently the acknowledged head of the military faction. Meanwhile, Phya Song Suradej who had supported Phya Mano and had refused to accept office under Phya Phahol, disappeared from

the public scene, though he remained a thorn in the side of the Government, by which he was finally banished on a charge of plotting for the restoration of King Prajadhipok to the throne. That monarch, after proceeding to England for medical treatment, had by that time abdicated, in March 1935, after a series of disagreements with the Cabinet of Phya Phahol, and had been succeeded by his nephew, the boy King Ananda Mahidol, who is at present being educated in Switzerland.

After the suppression of the counter-revolution the holders of office under the new régime settled down to a period of constructive work. It is true, by the unearthing of a series of conspiracies against the Government and by more than one political crisis which necessitated a reshuffling of the Cabinet. But these were draw backs of no vital importance, and from June, 1933, until December, 1938, during the whole of which time Phya Phahol continued to be Prime Minister the constitutional experiment in Siam may be said to have been justifying itself. Notable advancement was made in the sphere of popular education, steps were taken by the Government for the creation of municipalities and of urban district councils in the provinces, and above all, Phya Phahol and his colleagues could claim to have achieved a signal triumph by setting the crown upon years of effort, begun during the days of the absolute monarchy through the conclusion with Great Britain and virtually all of the other foreign Powers in 1937 of revised treaties of commerce and friendship under the terms of which Siam obtained for herself complete autonomy in tariff matters, freedom from the last remaining vestiges of the system of extra territoriality, and in general, recognition of her full equality with Western countries as a member of the family of nations.

It is to be remarked that these successes were accomplished under what were practically a succession of coalition governments with Phya Phahol at their head, the coalition being founded upon a working agreement between the liberal or intellectual group and the military group among the promoters of the *coup d'état*. For it had gradually become evident that there was a fissure in the ranks of the promoters: the military were drawing away from the civilians or, at least from those civilians who professed markedly liberal opinions and it was only under the chieftainship of Phya Phahol that the two parties could find a basis for continued co-operation. To the soldiers Phya Phahol stood as one of themselves and was held in especial regard by them as the principal surviving leader in a political sense of the troops which had ensured the success of the *coup d'état*. On the other hand he was a man of commendably moderate views despite his training in Germany: he held no exaggerated opinions as to the part to be played by the army in the national life: he was in sympathy with the liberals and he was a friend and admirer of Luang Pradist. Though more distinguished perhaps, for his good nature and common sense than for his political gifts, Phya Phahol thus filled an indispensable rôle during the period mentioned since through the combination of his personality and of his past military record he formed the sole rallying point around which all of the promoters could agree to unite and devote themselves in common to the task of steering the ship of state upon the new course which had been set for it. Unfortunately this condition of affairs proved too good to last. For one thing the appetite of the military factor was growing and its members were insisting upon getting more and more purely civilian appointments both in Bangkok and in the provinces into their hands. And for another thing Phya Phahol—now in poor health—was growing weary of the difficult and invidious task of keeping his restive team together and was repeatedly expressing his desire to withdraw from public life. More than once he was deterred from doing so by the urgent request of the liberals, for whom he was irreplaceable but finally he had his way and in December 1938 he resigned from office and retired on pension after a grateful country had conferred upon him the honorific title borrowed from Japan of The Elder Statesman. He was followed as Premier by Luang Pibul who as has been explained had by then come to be regarded as the effective head of the military party and thereafter a change came rapidly over the scene.

By now Luang Pibul had ceased to be a democrat (if he had ever really been one), although he continued to pay lip-service to the Constitution and the same may be said for his military collaborators whether in the Cabinet or outside it. Notwithstanding the fact that he had undergone three years of training as an artillery officer

in France, he appears to have been converted to the Prussian view of the right of the army to be the predominant factor in the State, and the process of conversion was doubtless aided by the circumstance that he had risen to the happy position of being able to monopolize it altogether, on behalf of himself and his followers. This followed logically from his having manipulated himself into the undisputed leadership of the military faction, whereby the military machine, including the tanks, the guns and the aircraft of the army, were at his disposal for the suppression and, if necessary, the elimination of the liberals or of any other political rivals who might dare to contest his supremacy. In this connection it is to be remembered also that during the interval between 1932 and 1938 the totalitarian governments in Europe had grown more self-assertive than ever, and that both Germany and Italy had been successfully pursuing their objectives in defiance and contempt of the League of Nations and to the no small discomfiture of the democratic Powers. I have already observed that the Siamese share with other people a fondness, for being in the fashion of the day, and Luang Pibul has furnished a good example of this tendency in so far as the modern cult of dictatorships is concerned.

And so began the undoing and the stultification of the constitutional system of government set up with such good intentions in 1932. Luang Pibul was too adroit to adopt the crude expedient of setting aside all of the liberal Ministers of State as soon as he was invited to form a new Cabinet. He included them in his own Government and in particular he entrusted the portfolio of Finance to Luang Pradist, the rival whom he chiefly feared, but whose record as the most active promoter of the *coup d'état* had created such a legend around his name that even the soldiers shrank from dealing with him too summarily. But these liberal Ministers though allowed to reassume office were never permitted to have their way over important issues even though connected with their own particular departments if their views were opposed to those of the Premier. Luang Pibul further gave proof of his suppleness by appointing to high office a number of junior civilians some of them professed liberals who owed everything to his patronage and so became the willing instruments of his policy. This expedient both helped him to command a majority in the Cabinet and served to cut ground from under the feet of Luang Pradist. Through such innuendoes as these as well as by the exercise of patronage in other directions, he showed himself capable of ruling the roost without having to make use of the unpleasant alternative of actually summoning to his aid those tanks and other weapons of war which were always in the background and upon which needless to say his authority was founded in the last resort. With his position unchallenged in the army after the disappearance of Phya Song Suridej so secure does Luang Pibul now feel himself that he has not troubled to abolish the People's Assembly: he treats it with outward respect and deference but its members know better than to vote against his wishes upon any question that he has at heart. In other words the Constitution is held by him in such poor regard that he does not so much as think it worth suppressing. In this he has followed the example of Mussolini whom he has copied in yet another respect by permuting the youthful King Ananda Mahidol to remain (up to the present at any rate) upon the throne. And he has gone still further in his imitation of the Italian dictator by taking to himself the title of Leader of the Siamese people while (after the fashion of Hitler this time) he has ordered that members of the public when greeting one another shall preface their salutations with the words Hail Pibul! I am even told that at the close of cinema performances his picture is thrown upon the screen and that his audience is instructed to rise and pay honour to it.

Thus, after a chequered beginning and after a brief period of success, the constitutional experiment in Siam has failed ignominiously. The reason for its failure is not far to seek and to the discerning eye it might have been apparent from the very outset. For the revolution in the Nation's affairs effected by the *coup d'état* of June 24, 1932 had been an artificial thing, in the sense that it was not the reflection of any spontaneous popular movement or brought about by the pressure of genuine public opinion. There is no such thing as public opinion in Siam as we ourselves, in common with other peoples of mature political development, understand it. The

great mass of the Siamese people, consisting mostly of peasant cultivators, is too ignorant to be actively interested in politics, and between it, on the one hand, and the Royal Family and a small aristocracy, on the other, there stands a middle class which is composed almost exclusively of Government officials, with the addition of a few lawyers and other professional men and of officers in the army and navy (The Siamese have shown little aptitude hitherto for trade and commerce, with the result that the merchant class is made up for the greater part of foreigners.) Leaving aside the Royal Family and the aristocracy, it is from this restricted middle class that the Siamese intelligentsia is drawn, and it is this middle-class intelligentsia, consisting chiefly of Government employees and lawyers, many of whom have been educated in Western countries, which alone has concerned itself with politics to any extent in the past and which alone has made its voice heard upon the subject. It is with these intellectuals that the movement towards democracy and constitutional government originated, but, in view of their comparatively small numbers and of the apathy of the majority of the population, it cannot be said that there was any degree of popular support behind them. In order to gain their ends they were forced to co-operate with the military faction, which, as has been stated, was actuated by more personal and more selfish motives. What happened afterwards was inevitable. Once the *coup d'état* had come off once the first flush of revolutionary enthusiasm was over, the soldiers and sailors began to realize that the success of the revolution would have been impossible without the support of their arms and that the new régime could not remain in existence for a day if those arms were turned against it. In short, the military party came to see that, in the absence of any valid public opinion to operate as a check upon its activities it was complete master of the situation, and it only waited for the retirement of the moderate Phya Phahol to exploit that situation to the utmost. Hence the collapse of constitutional government, which, properly regarded, had been doomed from the start, and the establishment under Luang Pibul of a military dictatorship as unlimited in its scope as the rule of the Siamese kings had ever been. The *coup d'état* had, in fact abolished absolute rule in 1932, only when the wheel had turned full circle, to see it restored in another shape six years later. With this difference, however out of date though the system may have grown, there was still something to be said for the exercise of dictatorial powers by an hereditary Sovereign who had been brought up in the traditions of the Royal House and who embodied in himself an august symbol of the State which the humblest Siamese peasant, throughout the course of centuries, had learnt to venerate. There is much less to be said for the dictatorship of Luang Pibul lacking as it does any historical background, and founded as it is upon the support of the military to the exclusion of the more enlightened elements in the country. If the *coup d'état* has merely led to the substitution of one form of despotism for another, Siam is not to be congratulated upon the exchange.

What conclusions are we to draw from the facts just related? I myself would draw two. In the first place, it is a thousand pities that the Siamese people did not receive its Constitution as a spontaneous gift from the hand of King Prajadhipok. The time was ripe for such a gesture, and it is no secret that His Majesty was himself disposed to make it unhappily he was dissuaded by the unanimous advice of his counsellors and in the end he was obliged to yield under compulsion what if he had followed his own instinct and inclination he would have bestowed freely upon his subjects whilst there was yet time for doing so. As it was, the King—and with him the institution of monarchy in Siam—suffered a loss of face from which they never recovered. After the promulgation of the Constitution His Majesty found himself more often than not in disagreement with his Ministers, and things drifted from bad to worse, until at last he was glad to leave the country on the advice of his doctors and ultimately felt it incumbent upon him to abdicate. For their part, the promoters of the *coup d'état* were exasperated by what they looked upon as unwillingness from the side of the King to co-operate with them and the breach between Crown and Government was scarcely mended by the summoning to the throne, as successor to King Prajadhipok, of a prince who added to the disadvantage of extreme youth that of being an absentee from the realm. Events might have taken a different course if the Constitution had come as a gift from the Sovereign himself. The

prestige of the monarchy need not have been lowered (on the contrary it would have been enhanced), King Prajadhipok could have remained with his people during the first critical stages of the experiment, and the influence of the throne could have acted as a stabilizing factor which, despite the absence of anything like a true public opinion, might have served to keep the military within bounds and to have made possible an orderly development in the methods of administration unaccompanied by any too startling break with historic tradition. In that event the Constitution would have had a chance of success.

The second conclusion which I would draw is that, since the failure of the constitutional experiment followed unavoidably upon the circumstances in which it was inaugurated and since it might have succeeded if those circumstances had been different, a suitable opportunity will present itself to the United Nations, when a post-war settlement is devised by them with respect to Siam, to ensure that the establishment of democratic institutions in that country is given a second chance or, rather, is given the chance which was denied to it in the first instance. It is on behalf of democracy that the United Nations are waging the present war and liberal statesmen are not lacking among the Siamese who if permitted would address themselves with ardour to the work of carrying on the administration in accordance with constitutional principles. But for that purpose it will not be sufficient to have freed Siam from her present domination by the Japanese: it will be no less necessary to diminish the power of the Siamese armed forces to such a degree that their leaders will never again be able to usurp all authority for themselves and to exploit the country in their own interests. If the failure of constitutional government in Siam has proved one thing it is that a relatively powerful army must represent a standing menace to the liberties of the people of any country in which the traditional form of government has been weakened or destroyed without the creation of an effective public opinion to supplement or replace it. The political eclipse of the Siamese liberals will endure so long as the army and navy continue to possess the physical means of keeping them in subjection. Not until this impediment has been removed will there be a prospect for the application of democratic principles in Siam once it has disappeared and once the liberals are allowed to appeal to their fellow-countrymen through the medium of a general election in which the voters will be free to cast their suffrages as they please. I have little doubt that they will receive a mandate to renew the attempt which was launched so hopelessly in 1932.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN PERSIA

By ANN K. S. LAMTON

In an article written a year ago* the writer suggested that Persia was faced with a choice between a return to dictatorship and a relatively progressive régime which will enable her in the field of internal affairs to develop along lines suited to the genius of her people and in the field of foreign affairs to maintain friendly relations with her neighbours. During the past year no very clear tendencies have emerged. In some quarters there is exasperation at the apparent ineffectiveness of the administration in certain fields and perhaps a hankering for a strong hand again and even for a return to dictatorship. It would nevertheless probably be true to say that the educated classes in general are looking for some kind of compromise which while preserving the essentials of constitutional and democratic or representative government, will give them an effective administration. Time will show whether the

* *Asiatic Review*, October, 1942.

present is a period of transition from dictatorship to some form of representative government, in fact as well as in name, or merely an interregnum before another dictatorship. A good deal of confusion prevails in Persian politics at the present time—it could perhaps hardly be otherwise, for the country was ill prepared to meet the situation it was called upon to face. There are indeed many difficulties ahead, some the result of past policies and others caused, or aggravated by the dislocation of the national economy due to the war.

In recent years Persian citizens have been denied all rights except those which they could enjoy collectively as part of the machinery of the state. No outlet was left for the ambitions and capacities of individual citizens. They were debarred from all political and social activities, as a result, the more sensitive natures became even more quietist, while the less sensitive occupied themselves with, and finally became engrossed in, the sordid pursuit of making money. As in other totalitarian states every means was employed to increase the influence of *étatiste* doctrine. It was taught in the schools through the years of childhood and adolescence. The process was continued among conscripts in the army. The papers proclaimed it and institutions, such as the Institution for the Orientation of Public Opinion, emphasized it. It seems very likely that one of the results of all this—in spite of increased technical knowledge due to new and modern school programmes—was in the main to worsen the mental qualities of the people and to render them less capable of sound judgment. If this was in fact, the case, it is not surprising that Persia in spite of the popular demand for democratic government after the abdication of Riza Shah failed to achieve an immediate and smooth transition from dictatorship to representative government. It would also be unreasonable if this reading of the situation is correct to condemn Persia because of this failure as unfit for representative government. In any case, it would be an error to regard the governments which have held office since September, 1941 as really representative or democratic governments. It is true that they are commonly referred to as representing the new democracy in Persia but they are in reality little more than an aftermath of the dictatorship or, at the best, purely temporary expedients during an interval in which Persian society striving to adapt itself to new circumstances is painfully and gradually feeling its way to new life. It is true that members of these governments and of the ruling classes in general often refer to themselves as democrats and emphasize their belief in democracy, but these professions indicate a nominal concession to popular opinion rather than a real change of heart. It would be a pity if this common misuse of the term democracy by some sections of the ruling classes and the press were to damn representative government for ever in the eyes of the people.

The truth is that Persians, in recent years have been denied the benefit of experience in representative government, and deprived of the possibility of developing through a process of trial and error those faculties of judgment without which representative government can be neither successful nor efficient. The present period of transition is still fraught with difficulties both internal and external in the way of a free indulgence in experiment. The presence of Allied Forces in Persia, and the facilities afforded to them under the Tripartite Treaty obviously limit the freedom of the Government in a number of fields.

It is not proposed in the present article to examine Persia's relations with the Allies, but rather to attempt to describe some aspects of the internal situation, which incidentally but inevitably affect her relations with foreign Powers.

The internal difficulties of Persia may be divided into two main classes—the political and the administrative. In so far as the former are concerned the problem of the struggle for power between the military and the civil authorities would appear to be one of the gravest. Under Riza Shah the military authorities enjoyed a privileged position. After his abdication certain sections of the military classes, whether actuated by patriotism—even if misguided—or only by self interest, showed no disposition to give up their privileges and the civil powers never succeeded in bringing the army fully under their control or in eliminating the influence of the army as an element in political life. The continuation of this struggle for power inevitably makes for instability in the position of the Government.

Another factor which militates against the successful working of representative

government is the absence of any organizations for self-help among the people.* There is little doubt that the absence of any such organizations, added to the lack of any previous experience among the people in the working of representative institutions, is a reason why the army is drawn into politics to fill the vacuum. There may be a difference of opinion about the advisability of reviving and extending the party system,† but it is clear that, in the absence of any machinery for making candidates for the *maylis* and their programmes known to the electorate, candidates are inevitably forced to seek support from some alternative in order to get themselves elected. In this way the Court and the army are inevitably drawn into politics‡. As a result, moreover, of this absence of organization politics are on a personal, and therefore unstable, basis. While the basis of political life remains a personal basis and there is no development either of political parties or of political programmes, and while an effective and impeccable civil service has still to be created, it seems unlikely that any real progress will be made in the field of representative government. Here again, however, it would be as unreasonable to expect immediate results, as it would be hasty to condemn the Persian people for being incapable of working representative institutions merely because they have failed to solve this difficult problem in the relatively short time that has elapsed since they have once more had the opportunity of playing some part in the political life of the country.

Before turning to some difficulties in the administrative field, it would perhaps not be out of place to mention a psychological factor which is not without bearing on the political situation—namely, the sense of drift and frustration which prevails among a large section of the educated classes. They have acquired the technique of the West, but they have at the same time lost faith in themselves and in their power to control events§. This loss of faith has, moreover, been heightened by the fact that the political anarchy prevailing since September, 1941 has prevented full use being made of their talents. This sense of drift is expressed in some cases in fatalism or again in the search for a scapegoat in the shape of some external Power whose might is so obviously superior to that of Persia that any opposition to it would be futile||. The result in either case is defeatism. Until this unfortunate—though hardly surprising—tendency is overcome and until there is a greater readiness than at present to accept responsibility for both success and failure, progress in representative government must inevitably be slow. The present writer is not one to deny or minimize the many and great difficulties that face the Persian Government and people, but she

* It was the settled policy of Riza Shah to destroy any such organizations.

† Political parties which had been in existence during the constitutional period disappeared during the reign of Riza Shah.

‡ In some cases candidates even seek support from the representatives of foreign Powers in Persia or circulate rumours to the effect that they are favourably looked upon by this or that foreign representative hoping in this way to silence opposition to themselves.

§ Contact between Persia and the West has led to an increase in the technical skill of the people on the one hand, while on the other it has produced a social ferment or to some extent a spiritual torment, none the less real because it may not be superficially apparent.

|| A scapegoat is commonly found in the shape of the British authorities. Failure to achieve some measure of reform is attributed to opposition on the part of the British authorities, while internal difficulties, which are often due to the indifference and ineffectiveness of the administration, are attributed to British machinations. Questions of space forbid me from going into the causes which have resulted in the British being commonly made into the scapegoat for failure. This tendency is a very real obstacle both to Persian progress in representative government and to Anglo-Persian understanding. It is, moreover, likely to remain so until the Persians disabuse themselves of the idea that the British authorities wish to interfere in their internal affairs (and are guided in this by a kind of Machiavellian cleverness), and realize that it is the policy of the British Government and the wish of the British people that Persia should maintain and strengthen her independence and prosperity.

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would suggest that it is only by facing these difficulties and by accepting responsibility that the Persian people will increase their fitness to administer the affairs of their country. Only in this way will they gain a confidence in themselves, based not on a superficial optimism or on a conceit of their ability to master the technical advances of the West, but on a knowledge that by their own efforts and their own disinterested service to the community, they can create an administration whose criterion of value will be what benefits the community as a whole and not what contributes to the selfish interest of a minority.

To turn to some of the administrative difficulties facing Persia, one of the most pressing is a large budget deficit and inflationary tendencies. These tendencies, which present perhaps the gravest problem of all, are mainly due to the abnormal situation resulting from the war and from heavy Allied expenditure in the country for war purposes. It should not, however, be forgotten that inflation had, in fact, already begun under Rīzā Shāh although the fact that full figures were not published disguised from the general public a tendency, of which they were bound sooner or later to feel the evil effects. Among other matters affecting the financial situation are the difficulties attending the collection of revenue in areas where the authority of the Central Government has been weakened—a certain amount of disorganization in customs control and the virtual stagnation of foreign trade. Efforts are, however, being made to put the finances of the country in order and to bring down, or at least arrest, the rise in the cost of living, which has been disproportionately high in recent years. Special powers have been granted to the Director-General of Finances, and various measures have been or are being taken to alleviate the situation. These include a new income tax Bill which at the time of writing was still being discussed by the National Assembly. Its purpose is to tax more heavily the higher income levels and unearned incomes, while affording some relief to lower income-tax groups. These measures are, of course, meeting with considerable opposition from the vested interests who have up to the present, by one means or another, usually succeeded in avoiding taxation themselves and ensuring that taxation should weigh most heavily on the classes least able to bear it. It is to be hoped that the good sense and patriotism of the people as a whole will overcome this opposition. It should not, however, be forgotten that the success of these measures will depend upon the efficiency of the machinery which executes them and the loyalty of those who work this machinery.

Another of the urgent problems facing the Government and one which also affects very considerably the financial problem in so far as the collection of revenue is concerned, is the restoration of security throughout the country. One of the unfortunate developments during the last two years has been a gradual breakdown in security and a recrudescence of tribal unrest and of raiding of the settled areas on the border of the tribal districts. It would seem that the Governments in power after the abdication of Rīzā Shāh, harried no doubt by apparently more pressing problems nearer home, did not realize sufficiently the dangers which would result from a revival of unrest in the tribal areas. Unfortunately subsequent events have shown only too clearly the difficulties facing the Government as a result of the refusal of various tribal leaders to recognize the authority of the Central Government. Upon the ability of the Central Government to restore order and security in the tribal areas will largely depend its stability and its power to carry out reforms.

Bound up with the problems of finance and the re-establishment of security is the problem of food supplies. Considerable credits are required by the Government to finance the collection of grain throughout the country—it is mainly the provision of adequate supplies of bread at a moderate price that constitutes the food problem*—and these credits throw a heavy burden on the already strained resources of the national exchequer. Clearly, also, the collection of grain will be gravely interfered with if security is not re-established, as also will be the cultivation of the land in the areas threatened by the danger of tribal raids.

* There is not room here to discuss the manifold causes which led to a grain shortage in Persia during the past two years, or the food policy of the Persian Government, or the measures taken by the Allies to alleviate the situation.

So far it is chiefly the difficulties of the situation facing Persia which have been discussed, and we have been mainly dealing in negatives. Let us now turn to some signs of constructive and progressive thought. There are clear indications that some sections of the people, albeit a small minority, are aware that Persia, if she is to continue to march with Western society, must overhaul her national life. They are aware of the imperative need of fostering among the people a spirit of self-reliance and civic responsibility. They realize that, on a long-term view, the reform of the education system of the country, so that it will be such as to fit the citizen to fulfil his or her responsibilities to the community, and the extensions of the benefits of education to all, are of paramount importance. Facilities for extending and developing education are unfortunately limited by the exigencies of the war and the difficulties to which the war has given rise. A first step has been taken, however, in the passing of a law for compulsory education, to be put into effect over a period of five years. The chief obstacles in the way of the immediate operation of this law are lack of teachers, a deficiency of school buildings in outlying districts and shortage of money.

There is also a growing interest—again, it must be admitted, among a minority—in the question of social security and a growing realization of the importance of this question for the well-being of the country. Measures to improve the conditions of industrial workers are being discussed. A Bill for workers' insurance has been presented to the National Assembly, and various Governmental decrees to improve the general conditions of industrial workers have been issued. The effectiveness of these measures must again, as in the case of measures for financial reform, depend on the way in which they are executed. It is to be feared that the absence of any effective scheme of Government inspection, the lack of organization among the workers and the shortsightedness of many of the employers, may detract from the value of such measures.*

It is to be hoped that the new National Assembly, which is due to meet in October 1943, will contain among its members representatives of the progressive elements in the country and of the younger generation. The composition of the new Assembly will give an indication of the extent to which Persia is adapting herself to new conditions. The elements of reaction are strongly entrenched and are striving to retain and even strengthen their position. In Persia, as elsewhere, the progressive elements will in the long run no doubt win, but whether there is to be a long and bitter struggle or an ordered progress and advance, will depend largely on the statesmanship of those at present in power and on developments in the near future. During their long history the Persian people have often shown themselves capable of successfully meeting some new challenge thrown up by changing circumstances. The challenge which faces them now is a severe one and may well be momentous for the future of Persia. Failure to meet it may mean years of unrest and misery. Success in answering it will enable Persia once more to enjoy an honoured place in the comity of nations and to make further contributions to humanity and civilization.

As stated above this article is concerned with the internal situation rather than with Persia's foreign relations, but no account of the situation in Persia, however incomplete, can close without some mention of the important rôle played by Persia in connection with the Allied war effort. In spite of internal difficulties, the loyal co-operation of Persia in accordance with the Tripartite Treaty, has not been withheld from the Allies in their fight against the Axis. By the Tripartite Treaty transport

* Steps towards industrial reform, important though they are and encouraging evidence though they may offer that Persia is marching once more with progressive opinion in the West, are not enough by themselves. In the absence of the provision of rural amenities they are likely to produce further economic crises by encouraging a flight from the land. The answer to this problem is, of course, not to go slow with measures for industrial reform but to improve at the same time the lot of the rural dweller. In view of the largeness of the area to be covered, the sparsity and poverty of the rural population, the temporary breakdown in security, the financial crisis and dislocation produced by the war, this is a problem of immense difficulty. It is, however, one which must be tackled sooner or later.

facilities have been placed at the disposal of the British and Russian forces in Persia, and large quantities of war material have been and are being sent to Russia through Persia. This material has no doubt been an important factor in the rolling back of the German armies from the Caucasus and the removal of the threat of war from the Middle East in general.

NOTE—Since going to press news has come of Persia's declaration of war on Germany and that she has formally joined the United Nations.

IRÂN ITS CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS*

BY SIR HASSAN SUHRAWARDY, D SC, LL D

EXAMINATION of all available data, fabulous, traditional and historical, confirms the claim that Irân, so long known in England as Persia, occupies a unique position in the history of mankind and has taken a remarkable share in the development of civilization and culture. Some European scholars may not agree, but I hold that even the Greeks have not that continuity of civilization of thousands of years which the people of Irân enjoy. After the deluge the Ark of Noah rested on Mount Ararat in Caucasia in the region of Erivan. The heights of Media with the flowery land of red rose (*suh*—red *ward*—roses *Suhraward*) the salubrious climate of the tableland of Persia, and its fertile valleys attracted the increasing population to spread over and offered to humanity, as well as the lower creation of God, the chance to be fruitful multiply and replenish the earth.

Arya the fatherland of the Aryans lay in Persia. From this centre of population arts, crafts and languages have spread out in all directions. From here the Perso-Aryans migrated north west across the Ural Mountains in their progress through Europe to England. Eastwards the Indo-Aryans crossed the Hindu Kush range and inhabited Northern India. We find the same racial and physical characteristics in the inhabitants of these countries with certain modifications due to climatic conditions: fair skin, regular features prominent nose large eyes, which are not slanting cheek bones not high jaws not square hair not woolly nor hard and straight an attractive full beard for the menfolk. The formation of the head is of the brachiocephalic type, which contains the most developed brains and the highest intellect. Iran is thus the progenitor as well as the legatee of a wonderful heritage. The kinship is clearly established between Irân in the centre, England in the west and India in the east not only by identity of ethnological characteristics but also by a remarkable affinity in the language expressing the relationship between parents and offsprings: the Indian *māta* the Persian *mādar* and the English *mother*; the English *father* the Persian *pādar* and the Indian *pita*; the Indian *bh* *rāta* is the Persian *barādar* and the English *brother*. *Ham* *sheera* and *sister* have a common root, but have undergone phonetic changes. Compare *daughter* *dokhtar* and *dohiri*.

Attracted by the richness of her natural resources, the fame of her wealth, the splendour of her civilization and culture, the warrior nations from the north from the east and the west have attacked Persia. For instance, in the fourth century before the birth of Christ Alexander the Great conquered Persia. Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. invaded Persia, and Mahmood of Ghazna overran and annexed it a little over a thousand years ago. Whatever hosts occupied or overran Persia, they had either to quit its territory or get absorbed by the Persian culture and surrender themselves to her. Mahmood Ghaznavi's court poet, Firdawsi, composed under his patronage in pure Persian a wonderful epic known as the *Shah Namah* (Annals of Kings), recounting the exploits of the Princes and the

* Based on an address at a luncheon at Overseas House on June 10, 1943, in honour of the Iranian Minister in London.

France and England were as the author says much better informed about the East a couple of centuries ago than in recent times. He does well to quote Father du Halde's monumental work *Description Géographique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise* compiled from material supplied by twenty seven Jesuit missionaries. Du Halde was never in China but had a surprisingly encyclopædic knowledge of the country and its people.

In Chapter Three the scene shifts from Jesuit culture in Peking to factory days in Canton when foreign traders sought to establish the rights of free trade and the recognition of their equality of status with the Chinese.

Foreign trade in the Far East really dates from the arrival of the East Indian Company in the eighteenth century. Up to this time Spaniards Portuguese Dutch and French all suffered defeats and were unable to establish themselves. Then in 1637 the first Englishman to arrive Captain Weddell came with four ships to Canton and forced his way up the Pearl River.

For the next century a casual and unofficial trade was picked up along the China coast. The Americans did not come till 1784 when however they rapidly secured a position second only to the British. Foreign residence was limited to Canton where under a list of restrictive regulations issued by the mandarins to govern the behaviour of foreigners trade was carried on with many wranglings and squabbles over prices and dues.

Under the leadership of the East India Company palmy days set in. Despite trade dues Customs and fees to mandarins and commission agents there was enough left to give traders a good profit and in the narrow confines of the compound in Canton to which they were restricted they lived in comfort and prosperity.

But the whole keynote of foreign and Chinese relations was on an irregular footing and when in 1793 Lord Macartney headed a mission to the Emperor Chien Lung an attempt was made to put British trade on a sound basis. Instead a note was struck that as the author says was to drone on like an angry wasp's nest for sixty years to come.

The pros and cons of Chinese wars with the West are impartially discussed in the fourth chapter. This was an important period for it comprised the mis-called Opium War the Treaty of Nanking which laid the foundation of the foreigners' century of domination in China and the creation of Hongkong and Shanghai. Then we come to the opening of all the Treaty ports and the Concessions Tientsin and Wei Hut Wei by all of which the tentacles of foreign trade reached deeply into China.

A concise account of the missionary movement Roman Catholic and Protestant includes the statement that there is no movement towards real progress in China today no school college or hospital that is not directly or indirectly due to missionary impulse.

Mr Green thinks the golden age of foreigners in China may be reckoned from the collapse of the Taiping rebellion in 1864 to the beginning of the first World War. This period was especially favourable to the British whose trade almost equalled that of all other foreign nations put together and whose predominance was undisputed. But as the author shows China benefited greatly. The flow of trade establishment of Sir Robert Hart's great Maritime Customs Service lighthouses on the China coast moves on shifting sandbanks the post office Sir Richard Dane's salt gabelle railways and banks were but a few of the benefits brought by foreigners and all get good explanatory notice in Mr Green's interesting book.

The chapter on Russia Japan and the Boxers depicts the events leading up to the establishment of the Republic and the part played by foreign influence in connection with them. The final chapter is a well balanced retrospect of the whole subject with a bearing on the future. The use of such a volume as this may be summed up in the author's concluding words. It can safely be said that the more Chinese and British really know of each other the more cause they find for common regard and respect. All of which is good preparation for the Far Eastern post war world.

No one who is interested in the Far East should miss reading this volume in order to get a proper understanding of how China stands today in her foreign relations.

Reviews of Books

TRUTH OF THE CROWN. By Philip Paneth. (Alliance Press, Ltd.; 2s. 6d.)
(Reviewed by Miss TALBOT RICE.)

This admirably illustrated little book sets out "to attempt to convey to Western readers for whom Turkey has been synonymous with Constantinople something of the tremendous changes wrought in Turkey." Within these limits the author has succeeded well, and his book deserves numerous readers from among the general public. They will find in it much that will help them towards an understanding of Kemalism, giving them a clear picture of what this doctrine, its remarkable founder and his brilliant band of supporters have done for Turkey.

The book opens with a twenty-page recapitulation of Turkish history from the thirteenth century to the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, which recognised the outer structure of Ataturk's Turkey, leaving Ataturk free to remodel the inner. It closes with two chapters containing many references to present-day politics. Taken as a whole, these sections of the book are less valuable than those devoted to describing Turkey during what may well prove the greatest period of her history—that is to say, from 1919 to the present day, when she stands with an army of upward of a million men mobilised and ready to defend her integrity and independence. The passages under review are marred by some of the ills inherent in over-compression—namely, by certain sweeping statements which are inevitably slightly misleading, and also by one or two minor inaccuracies.

The rest of the book, however, goes far to atone for these blemishes. It presents a singularly lucid and well-reasoned account of Ataturk's major reforms—those affecting wearing apparel, the emancipation of women, linguistic reform, the introduction of the metric system and of legal reform, and the dissemination of adult education by means of that altogether admirable and unique institution the *Halkevleri*, or People's Houses, etc. The need for these reforms and the extent to which they have succeeded are tellingly described, the reader being put in possession of all relevant facts and told the answers to many of the questions which the general public is in the habit of asking about Turkey.

Two omissions only occur in this comprehensive survey, owing perhaps to lack of space, the author has not dealt with Ataturk's exceedingly important decision, when concerned with educational reform, to concentrate primarily upon producing a small class of highly educated teachers and intellectuals instead of aiming, as might a less far-seeing man, at attaining general literacy at the probable cost of leaving the country with an insufficiency of intellectual leaders and a consequent lowering of senior educational standards. The author likewise omits referring to the affection, bordering on adoration, with which Turks regard their children, on whom they look as the future consolidators of that superb and solid structure which they have erected for them at the cost of much toil and abnegation.

Mr Paneth is the only present-day writer on Turkey who has set out to give Ataturk's Minority Exchange scheme the full importance which it deserves. Whatever the hardships, avoidable or otherwise, suffered by those affected by the Exchange, it is now indisputable that it was this scheme which alone made Turco-Greek friendship—one of the main essentials to post-war peace in the Balkans—not only a possibility but a reality. On the other hand, the author's estimation of Ataturk's pro-Russian policy would seem unduly reserved. Mr Paneth implies that Ataturk aimed mainly "to formalize" relations between the two countries, the facts, however, would suggest otherwise. Thus the first foreign loan accepted by modern Turkey came from Russia, this, taken alongside with Ataturk's pronouncements and the invigorating enthusiasm and affection for Russia felt by Ataturk's first ambassador to Moscow—the brilliant late Bay Vasil—surely reveals a desire for something warmer and more definite, something more in accordance with the vitality and thoroughness of Ataturk's character, than "formalised relations" and mere official "friendship"; an fact, for something more akin to true cordiality and good understanding.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. The ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

